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JOURNAL OF THE
COUNTY LOUTH
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EDITED BY
JOSEPH T DOLAN, M.A.



ESTABLISHED 1903.

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PRINTED BY WILLIAM TEMPEST, DUNDALGAN PRESS.

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S fialmáir feupamail Maḡ-Muiréimne
Ir ór-buirde 'n t-athbair ann 'ran' bpoḡmáir
ácc i vteannta na mbairiaí ó'n iéir
Tá raotair rean-ḡaodai ann ḡo leor.

DAN LYNCH.



ALL Communications for the Editor, who will be glad to lay
any Papers or Notes of Archæological Interest before the
Council, should be addressed to:

JOSEPH T. DOLAN,

EDITOR LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL,

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ST. MARY'S ABBEY, LOUTH—General View.

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JOURNAL OF THE COUNTY LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

No. 1.]

DECEMBER, 1916.

[Vol. IV.]

The Trench or "Wall" of Ulster

BY

Rev. Canon H. W. LETT, A.M., Aghaderg, Loughbrickland.

Address delivered before Louth Archæological Society at Dundalk, 22nd Nov., 1915.



THE Trench or Ditch of Ulster, which is also known as The Dane's Cast, and the Glen of the Black Pig, is a great earthwork extending for fourteen miles from near the village of Meigh in Co. Armagh to Lisnagade, near Scarva, in Co. Down. It lies between these counties and for more than half its extent is alongside the Newry Canal, the Great Northern Railway, and the county road from Portadown to Newry. In its course it is broken by several shallow loughs and impassable morasses. In these places it runs to the margin of the water, and commences again on the opposite side. This occurs in eight places, all of which are in County Down.

At a few places along its route the trench is eight feet deep, and eighteen feet wide from the top of one rampart to the other ; but originally, no doubt, it was much deeper and the ramparts higher, the excavated earth having in the course of centuries been washed down.

Near the south end—viz., between Seafin Roman Catholic Church and Cam-lough, as you travel along the road that passes through the mountains, a long stretch of the trench is visible on the slope of the hill. It looks from a distance as if it were

a dry-built stone wall, and Mr. John Bell of Dungannon, who was the first person to write about this trench, which he did in the *Newry Magazine* (vol. iii. 1817), and in Stuart's *History of Armagh*, described it as a stone wall. But a visit to the place convinced me that the stones had been thrown against the rampart in recent times by the farmers who collected them out of the adjoining ground while improving their fields, and they have nothing to do with the original construction.

After crossing the Newry road near Meigh the trench is well preserved for one hundred yards and bends to the east, and in a few hundred yards ends in what was once a turf bog. I would particularize this, as recently a paper was read before the members of the Royal Irish Academy, in which it was stated that this trench was part of the same construction as the Dun at Dorsey!

There are now no traces of the trench for the four and a half miles between the east end of Camlough and Goragh. Several times I searched this ground and made enquiries about Bessbrook and Mullaglass, but in vain.

However, the trench reappears near the junction of the Newry branch and the main line of the Great Northern Railway, about half a mile east of Goragewood Station. This bit, which is in nice preservation, goes down a steep bank to near Steenson's Bridge over the canal, and then turns sharply northwards in the direction of Scarva.

At the north-eastern end there are well preserved portions of the trench within the demesne of Scarva; and a mile from Scarva Station there is a fine and characteristic stretch some hundreds of yards in length in excellent preservation down a hill towards Glenloughan streamlet, where all traces cease about half a mile from Lisnagade great rath.

This fine *lis* or *rath* has triple fosses and ramparts all in good repair and is one of the largest in the County Down, and is well worth visiting. There must have been a very large population in former days about this spot, for taking Lisnagade great rath as the centre, within a radius of one statute mile there still exist the remains more or less perfect of sixteen *raths*, most of which are of a large size.

The object of the making of this trench had nothing to do with the absurdities embodied in the legends often associated with it—such as the rooting of the Black Pig, or St. Patrick's Cow, that tore up the ground with her horn, or with the invasions of the Danes.

History tells us it was made about A.D. 333—i.e., 463 years before the first landing of the Danes in Ireland, which was in 795, when they plundered S. Culumb-kille's church on Lambay Island; and they continued their outrages for the next 200 years.

An inspection of the trench shows that it was made by those who dwelt to the east of it, inasmuch as it runs along the base of sloping ground which rises to the east of it. This is very manifest at a portion for several hundred yards in Scarva

Demesne, which can be seen from the railway carriage in passing. It was made to keep back a foe coming from the west.

Now, early in the fourth century the Ard-Righ or High-King of Ireland was Cairbri Lifechair, the son of Cormac MacAirt, who had two sons named Eochaidh Domhlin and Fiacha Srabtene; and Fiacha conspired against Eochaidh and managed to get himself made king. However, Eochaidh had three sons—viz., Colla the noble, Colla the stammerer, and Colla the earthy—Colla Uais, Colla Meann and Colla Fochri. These three, to win back the throne, to their own line rose against Fiacha and slew him in the battle of Dubhcomar in Meath in 322, just 110 years before S. Patrick's time. Then Colla the Noble ascended the throne and was king of Ireland for four years, when Muredach Tireth, son of Fiacha, who was killed, rose with a great army at his back, and having defeated the three Collas, banished them into Scotland.

Now the mother of the three Collas was a daughter of the King of Scotland and her sons prospered there. It next happened that the Ulidians or Clanna Rury, the race to which Conor MacNessa and the Red Branch Knights belonged, who occupied what are now the counties of Antrim, Down, and Armagh, offended Muiredach the High King of Ireland, and war broke out between them. Muiredach was determined to conquer and humiliate the Clanna Rury, and wanting allies he sent to Scotland an offer of pardon to the three banished Collas, provided they would come back to Ireland and fight for his cause.

The three Collas were delighted, and returned to Ireland with a large contingent of Scotch warriors to help Muiredach, and the Collas were appointed commanders of the army of the King of Ireland.

A great battle was fought at a place called Carn-Achaidh leithderg, near Ballybay. The battle went on for a whole week. The Ulidians or Ulstermen were routed, and their palace of Emania at the Navan near Armagh where the High Kings of Ulster had reigned for 700 years was destroyed and never again dwelt in. The Ulidians or Ulstermen were driven eastwards, and confined within the limits of the present counties of Antrim and Down, being bounded on the north, east, and south by the sea, and on the west by the river Bann, Lough Neagh, and this great trench we are thinking about, which was formed by the Ulidians for their defence.





Armagh, Cloghar and Louth.



(CONCLUSION).

EFORE proceeding with the consideration of the place-names in his previous paper "Enda" must correct a glaring mistake made by him in former numbers of the JOURNAL.

Very Rev. Dr. Lawlor's pamphlet—"A Diocese in the Making"—published quite a number of years ago, disposed beforehand of the idea that Annagassan was the southern point of Cloghar diocese indicated by the Synod of Rathbreasal. Dr. Lawlor makes it clear that "Gabhail Liuin" of the Synod is Falloon, a parish in the extreme south-east of Fermanagh, and that the Rathbreasal boundaries are those of the original Cloghar and not an enlarged diocese as Enda had supposed.

But all this leaves us still face to face with the difficulty referred to at the end of the paper in the last number—how did Rathbreasal dispose of South Monaghan? Dr. Lawlor says the Synod placed Monaghan with other northern territories in Clonard; yet the boundaries given hardly admit this. No line from Cloghar [north of Rathcore, Co. Meath], even allowing it great vagaries, or indeed from any point in Meath, to the Shannon would even touch Co. Monaghan. Nor would a line from Coillte [near Ballysadare, Co. Sligo] to Cluain Conaire [Cloncurry, N. Kildare] approach Monaghan or Fermanagh. The territory unaccounted for is so extensive that one is tempted to think Keating's account of Rathbreasal gravely defective.

Of course it is quite common to find decrees of Synods enforced only gradually or not at all. Yet it is hard to imagine of all men S. Malachy, Gelasius, Christian, and Aedan obstructing the decrees of Rathbreasal. Malachy himself held most of Co. Louth, and founded Mellifont, whilst his brother Christian, who died on the eve of its foundation, was bishop of Louth. Then S. Malachy and Gelasius joined in making another bishop of Louth—Aedan.

The simplest way to explain this state of things is that the old diocese of Louth, co-extensive likely with the barony of Louth, but perhaps embracing South Monaghan, was joined to Cloghar. This might be either in the spirit of Rathbreasal, or a mere compromise—for what a great modern calls the "new and true philosophy of compromise" is very old indeed in Church government.

Then some political idea may have had its influence, as seemingly the fact that it was subject to the King of Eastern Oirgialla threw Omeith-tire into Armagh diocese, to which, as we saw in the last number, Colgan tells us it belonged. In the charter of Newry Abbey, about 1160, after the name of Donough O'Carroll came, "Murchad his son, king of O'Meith and of the territory of Erthur."

The ebb and flow of the Norman tide would surely affect the ecclesiastical position. The new masters might hope to get power in Oirghialla through the bishop of Louth, whilst the people of Oirghialla might think it safest to shed the Louth title and withdraw ecclesiastically within safer lines.

The statement of Gregory IX, A.D. 1240, that the diocese of Cloghar was taken out of Armagh is not met by saying that part of Cloghar was given to Armagh by Rathbreasal and restored to Cloghar. For the Pope says besides, that formerly there was in both dioceses only one chair. The Pope must have been stating history as it was read by both parties to the dispute, or the statement would not weigh with Cloghar. It seems to refer for certain to pre-Rathbreasal events, as it was not fulfilled afterwards. So amongst other things it tells against the idea that there were no real dioceses or territories assigned for the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction in Ireland before Rathbreasal. That there were bishops and many without territorial jurisdiction does not prove that none had it. There are many in the Church without it still. Nor does the fact—if it were a fact—that the great abbots of Armagh for example were in many or in all cases the rulers of the ecclesiastical territories prove there were no true dioceses. A consecrated bishop is till this day not necessary for a true diocese or for genuine episcopal jurisdiction. Any cleric—abbot or other—may rule a real diocese. Then many of those abbots were consecrated bishops as well. All Rathbreasal really seems to have done was to reduce the bishops to a reasonable number, and rearrange the territories to correspond with the smaller episcopate. Such a process is constantly carried out in the Church still, and will be till the end. There are dioceses yet in Italy as small as the old Irish ones, and for ages there were bishops in numberless small towns throughout the Church.

In spite of Synods and Popes and Kings it is pleasing to Louthmen to see even a ghost of episcopal Louth "walking" so late as "*Malachia episcopo de Lubgud*" in the *Liber Albus*, A.D. 1364; and a diocese of Louth suffragan to Armagh in a list made out under Pope Martin V (1417-1431).—*Archiv. Hib.*, Vol. ix., 1915.

It is time to come to the questions of topography raised by the St. Mary's Charters. Where was the church of Culliphan? Fr. Gogarty thinks in Togher parish, and its connection with Drumcar in the charters suggests that idea. But it seems rather to be Killany: 1st, the patron is the same—St. Ultan; 2nd, Killany belonged to St. Mary's at the dissolution, but Cullyphan does not appear among its possessions; 3rd, Cullyphan was near Aclynt, as appears from the extraordinary events related in the Calendar of Justiciary Rolls (Ireland), A.D. 1306.

January 7th, 1306.—Delivery of gaol at Drogheda: "William O'Bronan and Thomas Monek of Athglynt charged that they stole 6 oxen, 1 afer and 2 colts, but it was not known whose they were. And they led them to the castle of Thomas de Snyterby, Thomas knowing nothing of it. Said William charged that he stole an afer, value half a mark from one Gillemehud O'Bragan by assent of David . . . his brother, and other felonies fled to the church of Aghglynt and from it secretly withdrew by . . . following beheaded him. Which afer he sent to Taueragh in Co. Meath. Likewise the same that he stole 7 porks . . . from Donald O'Bragan . . . and led them to the castle of said Thomas at Cullyphan, and there they were eaten; and Thomas le Monek likewise charged . . . and that he with David O'Bronan stole a rochet . . . and Gilneef chaplain of Crefmartin charged that he stole . . . value 5s. [William and Gilneef] were found guilty."

But Taaf, official of the court christian, claimed them as clerks and saved them from the gallows. Monek too was found guilty. "Therefore let him be hung." It appears from the rolls of Ralph Burgeys, the coroner, that "David O'Brinan . . . put himself into the church of Athclynt, and there maintained himself for four weeks [and then took flight], the keepers followed him and beheaded him

when running away." So after all it looks as if it were only David, but not William O'Bronan who was beheaded. The kindly "keepers" in the case were the O'Bragan family waiting their chance. In above extract Taueragh is stated to be in Co. Meath. So we must grant that the "vill of Taurach" out of which the Repentini gave one mark of his rent to be paid by "Jordan the millar of Taurach" is also Tara in Meath.

Another entry may throw light on those proceedings: "Nicholas McKeneuan charged that he brought wines, ale and other victuals to McMahoun and Ralph . . . robbers and felons of Claynthe . . . Said Nicholas says he is a clerk and ought not answer to the court here."—*Justiciary Rolls*, 1306, p. 460.

The thefts too, black as they look, may have been efforts to supply starving outlaws.

That clerks were then exempt from civil jurisdiction did not at all mean that offenders escaped punishment. The courts christian tried them, and it is to be feared were quite as severe as the civil courts, except in the matter of the death penalty. They had prisons all over Europe for offending clerks. What must be deplored is that the Church was not able to rescue all from the savage punishment of those unregenerate days, as exhibited on a small scale in the above trials.

Another extract shows how the Church's efforts in the ways of mercy were defeated by the very classes it was trying to save. It is taken from the Red Book of Ossory: "Since some seeking the refuge of the Church are so closely guarded that they can scarcely be supplied with food, and some are violently removed from the churches and cemeteries or the public road, post abjuracionem terre," and slain, all who take part in such deeds, *ipso facto*, incur excommunication."

Solomon himself might learn the ingenuity of revenge from the above, and not so crudely avenge his father by killing Joab whilst he "caught hold on the horns of the altar."

All this would seem to point out Killane as Cullyphan. The reference to Leccack and the Red Gate or Gap in the description of Cullyphan may lead some one with local knowledge to throw more light on the subject. There is still a "Leege," pronounced Leeg, in Killane parish; but on an old map there was a "Killphan" in North Meath, and the journey of that "afer" to Tara in Meath, where too Snetherby had land, leaves one uncertain. In *Journal R.S.A.I.*, Sept., 1908 Mr. Orpen gives Cullyphan as Coilla-[n] Fan or Fanaidh, the wood of the hill slope, and identifies it with Killane and the Colleenayth of the Taxation of 1306. About the last point there was a discussion in this JOURNAL some years ago. Mr. Orpen says Lecchack is Stonetown and Ruffa Mora the Red Bog. But all that is only guesswork. Lecchack is much more likely to be Leege.

Terra de la Corre is Corstown, near Drumcar. When the tenant took his name from it he hardly knew its meaning—Baile-na-gcorr = town of the cranes. Peter Repentini gave the lands of Lennecrech, which should be near Corstown. Barmeath is rendered by O'Donovan Barna Meada = Meath's Gap. Balisconan should lie near Culiphan, as "T" was parson of both.

St. Finnian is still patron of Drumcar, and "Finnian's Meadows" are well known there in the neighbourhood of Drumcar, as also Finnian's well. The O.S. Letters state that the patron day was in the middle of December; but the exact date could not be found. A local phrase in Irish is preserved in O.S.L., which means "the hard weather begins on Finnian's day." This points to Finnian of Clonard, whose day fell on December 12th, as patron. The monastery of Drumcar, it seems, stood about 280 yards west of the old church, and its site was called "pairc na-bratar" = the friar's field. Is it so called still?

Many Norman nobles of Louth whose names appear in St. Mary's charters have left local denominations still existing. The Pipards have left Pepperstown; Wottons, Wottonstown in Darver, now barbarously called Woodenstown. The

Allards have left Allardstown in Darver: "Robert Athelard of Athelardstown."—*Justiciary Rolls*, A.D. 1299. The De Stormi give us Stormanstown. Walterstown, Stephenstown, Gilbertstown, Phillipstown, &c., come from scions of the Norman stocks. The Snetherbys, a very great family indeed, with lands in Dublin, Meath and Louth, have left not a trace behind. Thomas Snetherby by his will in 1463 left "to Atherdye church, Mapardstown, formerly bequeathed thereto by the above Johanna [Seynt Ledger, his first wife]: to Philip Bermyngham, Spicere's Rowe, Athirde."—*White Book of Christ's Church*. He had a castle at Acclynt.

The De Verdons still survive in the Verdons of Drumcar and others in Louth; Verdonstown, too, is found near Drumcar. The most picturesque of all Louth names, "Portlances" is absolutely unknown. They are placed south of Dundalk on the map of Ortelius.

The Norman nobles in Ireland are denounced by Giraldus himself as church-robbers. He says of their actions: "and thus the exaltation of the Church has been changed into the despoiling or plundering of the Church." The Louth nobles by what we have seen in St. Mary's charters can hardly be judged so severely. They certainly acted better than Hugh de Lacey in regard to Rooskey and Carlingford. Sept. 30th, 1237.—"Grant and confirmation to the church of St. Andrew the Apostle in Scotland and the canons there of the gift made by Hugh de Lacey, Earl of Ulster, of the churches of Roskath and Carlingford in Ireland to hold in frank almoyn."—*Rolls Series*, A.D. 1171-1252.

The patron of Rooskey was apparently Tega or Tegan: "Estalterius Tegae sive Tegano in ecclesia de Ruscach in regione Cualgne Australi parte Ultoniæ."—Colgan, *Trip.*, p. 185, n. 39.

"Athcluit" was in the possession of Louth Monastery at the Dissolution, as appears from an Inquisition at Stabannon, 2nd Aug., 13^o Jacobi I. It is registered in the Book of Survey and Distribution as Athclint in Phillipstown in the barony of Ardee, and described as being in part under water in winter. So there is no doubt about its being Acclynt. The meaning of the name is not so easy to decide. But the O.S.L. give it as "Beul-atha-cluintha," and the moat as "Motha-beul-atha-cluintha," so it is the ford of the meadows.

Regarding Phillipstown, the late Miss Murray, Mills of Louth, told Enda that the graveyard was in Irish "Kill da-Camac"—i.e., "Kill-demo:"= Church of Democ, or of Camac. Her mother used to say they would not spin on St. Camac's day, March 11th. On an old font in the churchyard wall was a carved head which her mother used to point out as St. Camac. The station was made on the first Sunday in August, fourteen yew trees making the stations. The last person who made them died a number of years ago. He deserves a record—Owen McEneaney, Rathnestin. His family may be able to give some of the old traditions.

Irish scholars assure me that Kill-da-Camac is more likely Church of Democ than Church of Camac. Miss Murray, as we said above, gave it as "Kill-da-Camac, i.e., Kill-Democ," to Enda's surprise, neither understanding the possible identity of the terms. There are many saints of either name in Irish martyrologies, but none on March 11th or near it. Democ might be a local saint, especially as we have another Kill-democ in that district, two miles south of Ardee.

The day of Acclynt was Sept. 7th, 1599, when O'Neill and Essex met there, Essex tells the story in his dull and prolix letter to Elizabeth. He states expressly that the interviews took place at "the foorde of Bellaclinthe." So there is no excuse for the fable of uninteresting Essexford.

Essex marched from Dublin, and on Sept. 2nd camped between Robertstown and Newcastle in Meath. On Sept. 3rd he marched to "Ardoiff," i.e., Ardagh Castle in Meath, near Ballyhoe. "The next day the L. Lieutenante marched through the playne country to the Mill of Louthe and encamped beyond the river towards

Ferney, and Tirone marched through the woods and lodged in the next wood to us, keeping his skowtes of horse in sight of our quarter." Here holding two opposing hills they had a skirmish on Sept. 6th, Essex having "placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse at Niselrathie half a mile from the hill of Louthe, where there is a square castel and a great bawne, with a good dytche rounde abowte it, and many thatched houses to lodge out men," . . . "marched to Drumconragh." Shirley brackets "Newrath" with Niselrathie. On Petty and Molls map Newrath is between Lowrath and Horestown, near Mills of Louth, which is too far from Hill of Louth for Niselrathie. The place appears again in OClery's *Life of O'Donnell* in a note, p. cv, as "Ishelrath, half a mile from Lowthe, where there is a square castle and a great bawn." One is tempted to identify Niselrathie with Fairymount, on which Mr. Orpen seems to think there was a Norman castle. It would be about half a statute mile from the Hill of Louth, if by that was meant where the Protestant church now stands. A.D. 1210, July 7th, John visited Louth, and as Mr. Orpen notes, dated his writs: "apud pratum juxta Luvet," or "apud pratum subtus aquam quandam quæ vocatur Strathe." That low-lying meadow below the stream may be yet known as the "Shra."

But "ere he had marched a mile" towards Drumcondra Henry Hagan came and asked Essex to meet O'Neil at Acclynt. "The L. Lieutenante drew a troop of horse to the hill above the foorde," "and seeing Tirone there alone went down alone." O'Neil, "knowing the foorde, found a place where he standing up to the horse's belly might be neere enough to be heard by the L. Lieutenante, though he kept the hard ground . . . and they talked neere half an hour and after went, either of them, up to their companies on the hills." So this first meeting came to nought.

But a second took place on the same day "within a while." Again "Tirone and all his company stood almost to their horses' bellies in the water, the L. Lieutenante with his upon hard ground . . . after almost half an hour's conference it was concluded that there should be a meeting of certayne commissioners the next morning at a foorde by Garret Flemming's castel, and so they parted . . . Tirone came himself to the parlie and sent into Garret Flemming's castel 4 principal gentlemen as pledges for the safety of our commissioners."

Flemming was "Captain Garret Flemming, at whose castle the truce was concluded between the commissioners of Tirone and Essex on 8th Sept., 1599."—*Carew Calendar*.

"He was the grandson of Sir Garret Flemming, Marshall of Ireland, and was the father of the celebrated Franciscan Fr. Flemming, who was born in 1599 at Belatha Lagain in Louth."—Vide *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, No. 8, p. 254, "Description of Ireland in 1598," edited by Hogan, p. 5, n. h.

Fr. Flemming was Christopher in religion, but named Patrick in baptism. It was he who first suggested to Fr. Ward the collecting of materials for the lives of Irish Saints. How few of us know or care that it was this noted Louthman inserted the bud, that unfolded, flowered and fruited in the works of Ward and Colgan and their brethren. Fr. Flemming himself collected many MSS. and published one work. He was killed near Prague, 7th Nov., 1631, during the wars of religion.

The Flemmings of Lagan were a branch of the great family of the Barons of Slane.

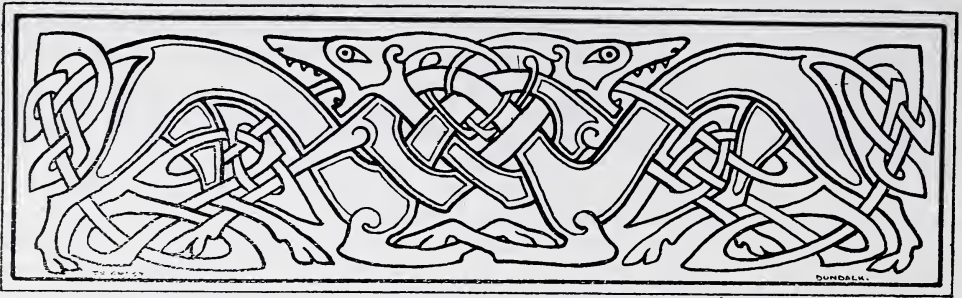
Lagan castle was in later years the feature of the district. The O.S. Name Books (A.D. 1836) say: "Lagan castle: Only a small portion of the ruins remain, and a small . . . site of castle can be traced. I was told the castle was 40 feet high, and was pulled down about twenty years since to make lime, the walls having been

built with limestone. The castle was erected close to the Lagan river, which is fordable at this place." " Situated : W. part of Lagan, T. Land in Clonkeen parish and Ardee barony on the S. side of L., and close to the river Lagan." Lagan Bridge " is situated close to ruins of Lagan Castle."

The " small portion of the ruins " is there yet, forming part of a fence. The river is marked " bow flumen," cow river on Speede's map. Lagan Castle deserved its name from its site—a " dell " indeed.

ENDA.





The County of Louth: Its Surface and its Foundation-Stones.

BY GRENVILLE A. J. COLE, M.R.I.A., F.G.S.,

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LOUTH may seem a small county when viewed upon the map of Ireland : but it gains dignity from the two ports of Drogheda and Dundalk. The ford of Ardee, from the days of Cuchullin to those of the O'Neills in 1641, has been famous in the conflicts between north and south. The northmen descended from the moorland of Armagh to hold the passage of the Nith, and the hosts of the south or west sought, across the river-bank, to reach the gap at Forkill and to strike at Ulster through the hills. The strong Norman fortresses at Dundalk and Carlingford point out the importance of the sea-inlets for the power that controlled the eastern coast.

The greater part of the county belongs to what is called the Caledonian land. Very far back in geological time—so far back that fishes had only just made their appearance in the seas—earth-crumplings set in which folded up the rocks of the north-western European area into a continent with ridges running north-east and south-west across it. The trend of earth-structure in Scandinavia and in the Scottish highlands still records this folding ; in Ireland it is revealed in the lines of glen and vale in Donegal, in the Leinster Chain, and in the broad region from Longford to Donaghadee, which includes the granite axis of Slieve Croob. The county of Louth lies on the southern part of this broad exposure, where the silurian slates and sand-stones have been brought to light.

The hummocky lowland of the county is worn out of these Silurian strata. Their unequal powers of resistance give rise to a number of undulations and small hills. In what are known as Lower Carboniferous times, before the coal-forests grew, the Caledonian continent was lowered beneath the sea, and an abundant growth of marine animals deposited on it the grey limestone that is familiar throughout Ireland. Ardee and Drogheda stand upon this limestone ; two large patches of it remain on the rising country north-west of Dundalk ; and it appears as a fringe at the feet of the mountains from near Adavoyle to Carlingford.

Every quarryman and lime-burner knows how the limestone is largely made up

of fossil shells. Corals, simple or branching, often stand out from when the finer material is dissolved away by weathering, and even the fine groundwork consists of broken organic fragments and minute shells of foraminifera. The arrangement of the limestone areas in the county of Louth shows that the whole district was once covered by this material, which still occupies the central plain of Ireland, from Dublin to Galway and from the Curlew to the Ballyhoura Hills. The ridge near Kingscourt includes overlying strata, which indicate that coal-bearing beds and red desert clays and sandstones of Triassic age once spread above the limestone. A general uplift towards the close of Carboniferous times allowed of the formation of swamps in which the trees of the epoch were preserved. This was followed by a serious crumpling, of which the limestone in the Boyne valley gives ample evidence. The beds thus folded were attacked by denudation; immense quantities of valuable coal-strata were washed away, and a period of dry continental conditions set in, during which the Triassic gypsum of Kingscourt was laid down in a desiccating lake.

Louth thus records the two chief epochs of land-building in the Irish area. The mountains in the north were added, however, to the landscape at a far later period, when igneous activity in north-west Europe heralded the upheaval of the Alps. The rocks of the Carlingford district are among the most interesting in the British Isles. The dark gabbros were investigated by A. von Lasaulx of Breslau about 1877, and W. J. Sollas has published a memorable paper on the relations of the masses at Barnavave.¹ The work of J. W. Judd and others on the post-Cretaceous cores of the great volcanoes of Mull and Skye leaves no doubt that the igneous rocks of Carlingford and the Mourne mountains belong to the same series of intrusions as those of the Inner Hebrides. We find here exposed the Cainozoic cauldrons from which lavas like those of Antrim flowed. The series of grey sills and dykes of dolerite, which cut the Silurian strata and the overlying limestone, represent channels along which basalts may have reached the surface. The more crystalline type, dolerite, remains in the region where slow cooling took place underground. The coarse gabbros, which weather out as the rugged heights of Carlingford Mountain and Barnavave, respectively 1,935 and 1,142 feet above the sea, are of the same chemical composition as the dolerites, but consolidated still more slowly. Granite, as may be clearly seen in the quarry near the Bush, has welled up into them from below, and has absorbed a large part of them as it rose. It has, however, been unable to hold its own against the weather so well as the tough resisting gabbro. On Slieve na Glogh the granite remains at a height of above 1,000 ft. : but the streams from the north-west have carved a broad valley through it, in which the farms lie along the feeders of the Piedmont river, while it has been worn at the north end of Barnavave into a pass, by which one may cross easily to Carlingford.

These grand crystalline rocks, closely related to those of Mourne, are of Eocene or Oligocene age, and represent the first throes of the earth movements that moulded modern Europe. The coast-line of the county is of recent origin. Somewhere about the time that man was spreading over the earth, a large valley between the site of Dundalk and that of Morecambe became converted by subsidence into the Irish Sea. The lower valley of the Newry River was converted into the inlet known as Carlingford Lough, while the streams from the Silurian country became truncated by the flowing in of marine water to form Dundalk Bay. The general cooling of the earth's surface during the post-Pliocene Ice-age allowed a great glacier from the Firth of Clyde to stream down the Irish Sea, driving out the water before it and carrying the soft muds and sands of the sea-floor across the Irish coast.

¹ Trans. R. Irish Acad., vol. xxx. (1894).

Probably the whole area then became uplifted, for Ireland was certainly connected with Britain for some time after the ice had passed away. Before, however, these warmer days arrived, local ice pressed down the channel of the Newry River from the old Caledonian axis, and the rocks were scoured beneath it, so that the floor of the valley became deepened behind a rocky sill that now guards its mouth. This hollow behind the outlet is characteristic of many of the glacier-moulded fjords of Norway, and it gives new emphasis to the name of Carlingford, by which the Northmen knew the submerged valley after marine conditions had returned.

The whole county, in its superficial deposits, bears witness to the quantity of material that was carried into it by the invading ice and left behind as the great sheets shrank away. The limestone boulders, which have often been transferred to otherwise limeless land, are commonly scratched by the sand-grains that were rubbed against them in the enclosing ice. Many of the stones in the boulder-clays are foreign to the district, and the fine-grained granite of Ailsa Craig, with its characteristic slate-blue amphibole, occurs in the glacial deposits at Greenore as a record of the ice-flow from the Clyde.

When the ice melted away, large animals, like the mammoth elephant and the great Irish deer, wandered between Ireland and Britain. The remains of the Irish Deer (*Cervus giganteus*) are well known from the intervening Isle of Man.

But a lowering of the area once more set in, determining the boundaries of Ireland as an island. The latest movement has been upward, and "raised beaches," with modern sea-shells in them, occur on both sides of Dundalk Harbour and at the promontory of Greenore. The Northmen, and Prince John in days of later enterprise, found a quiet shelter for their ships at Carlingford, between the grim heights of the southern gabbro and the domes of granite in the Mourne. Dundalk Bay remained shallow and somewhat choked by glacial detritus, having never felt the scour of ice directed between lines of hills. The submerged end of the Boyne Valley provided an attractive site for Drogheda, where the old ford became bridged for the highway from Dublin to the north. The energy of man has improved the entry to Dundalk Harbour; the English London and North Western Railway Company has planted a veritable colony on the natural platform at Greenore; and Louth in consequence possesses three of the gates of commerce between central Ireland and the sister isle.

At the present day, the shortened rivers running eastward across the county remind us of the slope of the very ancient ridge that formed part of the Caledonian land. The Boyne keeps clear of the Silurian rocks, and has chosen a course along a band of Carboniferous Limestone, which records the second folding of the Irish area. The heather-clad heights above the woods of Bellurgan, or above the limestone of the Carlingford shore, carry our thoughts to the possibilities of renewed activity in the earth's interior, and connect the county of Louth with the growth of Europe to the east. The comparative youth of their crystalline rocks give them a marked pre-eminence over the worn-down masses of older date through which they broke their way, and they still rise as a rugged barrier on the frontier of the Leinster lands.



Lecture on Irish Illuminated Manuscripts.

BY THE REV. H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., Litt.D.

Delivered to the Louth Archæological Society at Dundalk, 30th March, 1916.



THE aim of this lecture is to show that the history of the schools of ancient Ireland receives interesting and valuable illustration from the illuminated manuscripts preserved in Dublin. But as the learning for which the Irish schools were most famous was Biblical learning, and as the manuscripts of which I propose to show some pictures* are all Biblical manuscripts, I had better begin by mentioning an important date in the history of the Latin Bible, and by explaining a few technical terms.

In the closing years of the fourth century that great scholar, St. Jerome, undertook at the request of Pope Damasus the work of translating the Scriptures from the original languages into Latin. The version which he gave to the world is now known as the Vulgate, and we may place its date, roughly, at 400 A.D. In due time it attained the position of pre-eminence which it has ever since deservedly held, as the standard Latin Bible.

We must not imagine that St. Jerome's Vulgate was an entirely original piece of work, or the first of its kind. There were Latin translations of the Bible long before his day, and by the fourth century they were in use all over Christian Europe and Africa. Now as St. Jerome's version is by universal consent known as the Vulgate, so it is convenient that these earlier Latin Scriptures should have a distinctive name. Scholars usually call them the "Old Latin" versions. By "Old Latin," then, we mean the Latin versions of the Bible which were in existence before the time of St. Jerome. There were many of them, and they differed considerably from each other. Amongst the rest there was a special Irish recension of the Old Latin. And a manuscript of the Gospels in that recension is among the treasures of the Trinity College Library. It belonged to Archbishop Ussher, and is known as Ussher's Codex. This manuscript is not illuminated. But it has an interest of its own; for, with an exception which I shall mention hereafter, it is probably the oldest specimen of writing in the Latin tongue in Ireland.

Now what St. Jerome did was not to make an entirely new translation. He based his work on one of the Old Latin versions. He corrected this where it seemed

* The lecture was illustrated by facsimiles of pages of the MSS. to which the lecturer referred.

to him to be wrong—wrong either in its rendering, or in the original text which it followed; that is to say, he proceeded in exactly the same way as the committee which thirty years ago published the Revised Version of the English Bible, or as those who are at present engaged in preparing the Westminster edition of the New Testament. He gave to the world not an independent translation, but a Revised Version. He revised the Old Latin.

And his Revised Version did not all at once displace its predecessors. It came to be recognized as the one authentic Latin Bible only after a struggle of several centuries, during which it gradually made its way into acceptance step by step in the different countries of Europe. Let us try to imagine what happened. In some district where the Old Latin had long been in use a few copies of the new version would arrive. That was a great event for scholars, most of whom would soon perceive the general superiority of the new to the old. So transcripts of the Vulgate would be multiplied, at first mainly for the use of students. After a time (perhaps a long time) the manuscripts of the Vulgate would become nearly as numerous as those of the Old Latin. Then there would be two rival versions in the district, circulating side by side, each of them no doubt having ardent supporters. In the days when there was no such thing as printing, and all books were written by hand, this would produce confusion. A scribe, for example, who was accustomed all his life to copy the Old Latin, who knew much of it by heart, would undertake to transcribe a portion of the Vulgate. The old familiar phrases were in his mind as he wrote. At times, unconsciously, or even deliberately, he would substitute them for the phrases of St. Jerome. And so he would produce a text which did not agree exactly with his exemplar. In this and other ways there would come into existence manuscripts which were neither pure Vulgate nor pure Old Latin, but something between the two. Such texts we call "mixed." I suppose the large majority of the extant manuscripts of the Latin Bible are of that type. That was certainly the case in Ireland from the eighth century onwards. As time went on, and the merits of St. Jerome's work were more clearly realized Old Latin texts would cease to be copied, and the mixture in professedly Vulgate manuscripts would become less. But it never entirely disappeared. And in fact the 'Vulgate' which we know is just such a 'mixed' text, though no doubt the 'mixture' in it is less than in that of many early manuscripts.

Now if we desire to learn the history of Biblical study in any country, it is of capital importance to ascertain, if we can, the date of the introduction into that country of St. Jerome's Vulgate. To-night our first question is, when did the Vulgate arrive in Ireland? It is a question easier to ask than to answer. But there is a story which, if it is true, may help us to find the answer. And since its scene is partly laid in the County of Louth, I need not apologize for telling it to the Louth Archæological Society, though to all my hearers it is a familiar tale.

There is a station on the Great Northern Railway, best known to travellers as a point at which trains persist in stopping for no apparent reason except that of delaying the journey from Dublin to Belfast. Its name is Dromin. And though the impatient traveller may not know it, Dromin is an important place in the history of learning in Ireland. For there, according to early tradition, occurred a curious episode in the life of St. Columba. The story is this:

St. Columba once paid a visit to St. Finnian of Dromin. And while he was there he asked St. Finnian to lend him a book which contained a portion of the Bible. It seems that St. Finnian was not always ready to lend his books to his friends. And most of us who have been generous in this respect will perhaps appreciate his reason for caution. But St. Columba had been a pupil of his, and he had much affection for him. So he overcame his reluctance, and lent him the manuscript. When he got what he asked for St. Columba, I am sorry to say, played a rather

mean trick on his old friend. He copied the manuscript from beginning to end. He worked hard, writing day and night ; and in the night-time he was provided with supernatural light which proceeded from the fingers of his right hand. His task was almost finished when St. Finnian sent a messenger to ask St. Columba to return the book. The messenger looked through a chink in the door of the church where St. Columba was at work, and saw what was going on ; but a pet crane, with the saint's permission, put his beak through the hole, and pecked out the messenger's eye. Then came St. Finnian himself and demanded not only his own book, but the copy of it which St. Columba had made without his permission. This demand Columba refused ; and it was agreed that the matter should be referred to the arbitration of Diarmaid, King of Ireland. At Tara Diarmaid gave his famous judgment. He declared that as to every cow belonged its calf, so to every book belonged its copy : and on that principle he gave his award in favour of St. Finnian. But Columba would not submit. He escaped from Tara and went across Sliabh Brehg to the north, and there stirred up his kinsmen of the Cinel Conaill and the Cinel Eoghain to fight for his cause. The result was the battle of Cuil Dremhne (Cooladrummon) in the County of Sligo, fought in 561, at which St. Columba's party was victorious over Diarmaid. We are told that it was in consequence of that battle that St. Columba was sentenced to banishment from Ireland, and entered upon his missionary work in Scotland, of which all Irishmen are so justly proud.

Now some persons, when they hear that story, may say What a silly legend ! and may dismiss it from all further consideration. But no competent historian will deal with it in that offhand manner, for old traditions are always valuable. If they teach us nothing more, we may at least learn something from them of the thoughts of the people who believed them. And we are becoming more and more convinced that they often do tell us more, if we only have the skill to discover what it is. In fact, ancient tradition is generally recognised nowadays as valuable evidence for historical fact.

In this particular story there is a good deal which I do not ask you to believe. We need not pin our faith to the miraculous light which streamed from St. Columba's fingers. Nor need we take too seriously the incident of the crane : though there is no reason why the saint should not have had a pet crane, nor why the crane should not have pecked at the messenger's eye, with or without his permission.

But setting these things aside, I believe there is a very considerable nucleus of fact in the story. Of course I cannot give you all my reasons for this belief. I will content myself with suggesting one. The questions may be asked : Why was St. Columba anxious to borrow St. Finnian's book ? Why did he make a copy of it ? Why was St. Finnian desirous to get possession of the copy ? and why was St. Columba so unwilling to let him have it ? Some one may, perhaps, answer that St. Finnian's book was a very beautiful one—beautifully bound, richly illuminated, written in a specially fine hand. But that answer will not do. For those features of the book, supposing they existed, could not be transferred to a hastily written copy. The beauty of the book would account for St. Columba's desire to examine it, or even to steal it ; but it would not account for his wish to transcribe it. And it would not explain why St. Finnian insisted on having the copy when it was made. There is only one possible answer to our questions. St. Finnian's book must have contained a TEXT of the Bible which was of great value, and which was of extreme rarity in Ireland. If that be so, we can have no doubt what text it was. St. Finnian's book was a portion of St. Jerome's Vulgate ; perhaps the very first copy of that version which had reached this country.

Now I want you to notice that there is no direct hint in the story itself of the answer which should be given to our questions. I very much doubt if any one of those who handed it down from generation to generation during the last ten

centuries ever asked the questions which I have proposed, or could have answered them if they had been put to them. I am certain they have been left unasked and unanswered by many modern students of Irish antiquities. Yet those who first told the story must have had a clear conception of St. Columba's motive in copying the book, and of St. Finnian's reason for demanding the copy from him. Even if the story is false it must have been current at a time when rival versions were still in circulation in Ireland, when MSS. of the Vulgate were regarded as having been, not so long ago, comparatively rare. That takes us very far back—so far that we can hardly refuse to believe that the main elements of the story are historical. The wonder is that it continued to be told without material alteration so many centuries after the circumstances which it pre-supposes had ceased to be understood.

Now the conclusion that this story is, on the whole, true has strong confirmation from a fact which cannot be denied. There is in the Royal Irish Academy a very beautiful shrine of silver, overlaid with gold, constructed in the eleventh century at the order of Cathbarr O'Donnell, the head of St. Columba's clan, and now the property of Mr. Thomas O'Donel of Newport, Co. Mayo. In the beginning of the sixteenth century—and probably very much earlier—there was a tradition that it contained the very book which St. Columba wrote with his own hand at Dromin, commonly called the Cathach. This belief could not then be verified, for it was deemed unlawful to open the shrine. But just a century ago Sir William Betham did open it. And what did he find? A book, just as tradition might have led him to expect. Moreover it is a book so tattered and so wanting in æsthetic charm, in spite of some faded illuminations which still remain on its pages, that we cannot account for such a cumdach having been made for it except on the supposition that in the eleventh century it was regarded as a relic of the patron saint of the O'Donnells. Moreover it is, as it ought to be, if our story is true, a Biblical book—a fragment of an ancient Psalter. Again, experts tell us that the handwriting makes it probable that it is not later than the seventh century, and may be of the sixth. This is not all; its text is not Old Latin, as we might have thought so ancient a Psalter would be, but almost pure Vulgate. And finally, it has very curious headings to the psalms, from which, for reasons that I cannot explain now, I infer that it was beyond doubt in some way connected with the famous monastery of Iona and with its founder St. Columba.

Perhaps when we consider this body of evidence we may come to regard the story of St. Columba's doings at Dromin as something better than a silly tale. We may indeed accept it as, apart from some embroidery, a statement of historical fact. If we do we can with high probability answer the question with which we set out, When did the Vulgate arrive in Ireland? It came to these shores in the lifetime of St. Columba, not very long before the famous battle of Cuil Dremhne, which the Annalists tell us was fought in 561. That is to say, the Vulgate reached Ireland in or about 560 A.D. And it was St. Finnian of Magbile, the founder of the church of Dromin, who is related to have visited Rome in the time of Pope Pelagius I (555-560) and to have brought thence some Biblical books, who imported the first copies of it to Ireland.

Now we may turn to a more famous book. It is the copy of the Four Gospels in T.C.D., which is known as the Book of Durrow. It is so called because it once belonged to—probably was written in—St. Columba's great monastery at Durrow in King's County. All of us have heard of it and its magnificent illuminations. Pictures, which cannot reproduce its rich colouring, give us but a faint notion of its beauty. But one thing they can do. In them we can study its beautiful semi-uncial writing. We can admire its regularity, the slow laborious care with which every letter is formed. We can learn that though it is written in an unfamiliar character, and in an unfamiliar language, we may, after a little practice, read it

almost as easily as English print. Now why do I mention this? First because I think all Irishmen should be proud to possess such a treasure of art and calligraphy. We should be proud that some twelve or thirteen centuries ago there were in Ireland schools of art and learning which could produce such a masterpiece. But I mention it also for another reason. From that book we may unearth a piece of historical information of high importance for our purpose; and it will be found that it strengthens our belief in the truth of the story of St. Finnian's book and the inference which we have drawn from it regarding the history of Biblical learning in Ireland.

On one of the pages of the book we find a note—what scholars call a colophon—written by the scribe. When translated into English it runs thus:

“I ask thy blessing, holy presbyter Patrick, that whoever holds this little book in his hand may remember me, Columba the scribe, who have written for my own use the Gospel in the space of twelve days by the grace of our Lord.”

Now this colophon is very difficult to understand. It seems to say that the Book of Durrow was written by St. Columba. But those who understand such things tell us that judging from the handwriting it cannot have been penned earlier than the seventh century; while St. Columba lived and died in the sixth. It seems to say also that St. Columba wrote it for his own use. But how could so ornate a copy of the Gospels have been written for the purpose of private study? The most hasty inspection of it will convince us that it could not have been intended for the private use of an individual. It must have been written for a community or for a church. And, lastly, we are told that St. Columba's task was accomplished in twelve working days—just a fortnight, not including Sundays. That the Book of Durrow—the mere text, apart from the illuminations—could have been written in so short a time is a physical impossibility.

So it appears that the scribe did not speak truly. He wrote down deliberately at least three distinct lies. But then, if he did, he wrote lies which could not deceive anybody. Everybody in the monastery at Durrow must have known that it was he who wrote the book, not St. Columba who had died many years before. They knew, too, that the book was written for them, to be read in their church, not for the use of the scribe himself or of any individual student of the Scriptures. And they saw him at work week after week—or more likely month after month. His mere word would not convince them that he had copied the Gospels in a fortnight. So if he told lies they were stupid lies—lies which nobody could be expected to believe.

That is not very likely to be the case. So we must see if we cannot find some better explanation of the strange statements of the colophon. My late friend Dr. T. K. Abbott, whose learning was as remarkable as his goodness of heart, has suggested a theory which the more I think of it the more I am convinced is true. It is this. St. Columba did write a copy of the Gospels in a rapid hand in twelve days. It would involve hard work; but there is no doubt that it could be done. At the end of it he wrote a colophon identical with that which we now read in the Book of Durrow. Of that copy every word in the colophon was true. It was a ‘little book’; it was written by St. Columba himself; it was written for his own use as a student; and it was written in a fortnight. No doubt the saint often read it; and so when he died it was looked upon as a relic. Then it occurred to some one that an exact copy of it should be made; but that the copy should be made by the best scribe that could be got, that it should be penned in a careful semi-uncial hand, and that it should be enriched with elaborate ornament. The scribe to whom the work was entrusted did it well. He transcribed every word of the Gospels with the greatest care. But he did more, he actually copied the colophon.

word for word, as St. Columba wrote it. The outcome was our Book of Durrow ; and the colophon in it does not really make false statements, for it refers not to the Book itself, but to the older manuscript from which it was transcribed ; and everybody knew that at the time.

Now that we have this fresh light thrown upon its meaning let us read the colophon again. It tells us of a very interesting incident in St. Columba's life. On one occasion he wrote a copy of the Gospels in a most unusually short time ; twelve days. Why did he work in such hot haste ? We naturally suppose that his time was limited. He must have borrowed the exemplar from someone who could not let him have it for more than a fortnight. But there were certainly many manuscripts of the Gospels in Ireland. If he could not copy this one in the allotted time he could easily borrow another. It is clear that no other manuscript easily procurable would have satisfied him. The manuscript from which he was copying must therefore have had a rare text which he regarded as of special value. And so we can understand why St. Columba copied it 'for his own use.' It was just the sort of text of which a devoted Biblical scholar would desire to have a transcript for private study. Now we know exactly what that text was. For of course it must have been of the same type as that of the Book of Durrow. And that manuscript has a Vulgate text of singular purity. It is one of the best Vulgate manuscripts of the Gospels in existence. Thus here again, just as when he visited Dromin, we find St. Columba copying in haste for the purpose of study, a Vulgate manuscript lent him by a friend, and in his possession for a limited time. The parallel between the two incidents is unmistakeable. The only difference between them is that in one case St. Columba was copying the Psalms, in the other the Gospels. And in both we have evidence of the same important fact, that the Vulgate reached Ireland in the life-time of St. Columba.

But the Book of Durrow carries the history a little further. Let me explain this by recalling a misadventure of many years ago. When I was an undergraduate I was showing the Durrow Gospels to some friends. The page was open on which there is a picture of an eagle. I explained that each evangelist had his symbol : St. Matthew being represented by a Man, St. Mark by a Lion, St. Luke by a Calf, and St. John by an Eagle. Then I told my audience how the scribe of the Durrow Book put each symbol on the leaf preceding the Gospel to which it belonged. "And so," I proceeded, "if you turn over the leaf you will find the beginning of St. John's Gospel." Unfortunately for my credit as a lecturer I suited my action to my words. Alas ! I found on the next leaf the beginning not of St. John, but of St. Mark. The fact is that the illuminator of the Book of Durrow has transposed the symbols of the second and fourth Gospels. He has given the Eagle to St. Mark and the Lion to St. John. Some fifteen years later I remembered my discomfiture, and was able to account for the transposition. When the scribe had finished his work he handed the manuscript to the illuminator, and the latter inserted the symbols on the blank pages left for them. But of course he did not evolve them from his own imagination. He used another illuminated manuscript, from which he copied them. And that manuscript happened to be a copy of the Old Latin. Now in the Old Latin the order of the Gospels was Matthew, John, Luke, Mark ; while in the Book of Durrow, as in all other Vulgate MSS., the order is Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. Not noticing this difference the illuminator copied the symbols just as they came in the book that lay before him ; and so he gave the Eagle, which is really the symbol of St. John, to St. Mark, and the Lion, the symbol of St. Mark, to St. John. Thus we learn that in the seventh century illuminated Gospels of the Old Latin type were more easily procured than similar manuscripts of the Vulgate type. In fact, we may expect that as the exemplar of the Book of Durrow, written by St. Columba, was the first

copy of the Vulgate Gospels made in Ireland, so the Book of Durrow itself may have been the first illuminated Gospel Book produced in this country.

But it is time to advance to a somewhat later period. Towards the end of the seventh century the annals begin to record the deaths of eminent scholars—poets, scribes, historians, and so forth. And from a careful study of these entries we learn that from the time when the Book of Durrow was written, there was for a century and a half a goodly and increasingly numerous band of learned men and artists in Ireland. But at the end of the eighth century a disaster befell the country which boded ill for the future of Irish culture. About the year 800 appeared the first Danish ships off the Irish coasts. And from that time onwards the Vikings harried the land with fire and sword. Their special aim seems to have been to destroy Christian institutions. Churches, monasteries, seats of Christian learning, were burnt and plundered far and wide. At such a time it was impossible for men to devote themselves to the arts of peace. They could not have had the heart to copy and illuminate manuscripts, when their country was being devastated, even if they had had the means of doing it. And so we are not surprised to learn from the Annals that there was a sudden fall in the number of learned men at work just after the arrival of the Danes. There were only half as many in the first quarter of the ninth century as in the previous twenty-five years. And as we might expect the manuscripts of this period display inferior workmanship. Among them it seems are the Gospel Books of Mulling and Dimma, which cannot for a moment stand comparison, either in art or in penmanship, with the Book of Durrow.

But, curiously enough, the one manuscript which we can assign with absolute certainty to the first quarter of the ninth century is of a high order of excellence. It is the Book of Armagh, the only complete copy of the New Testament which has come down to us from the Ancient Irish Church. It contains also Lives of St. Patrick and other material which is of the highest value to the historian. And it has special interest for Louthmen, because, for many centuries, it was regarded as one of the insignia of the Primates. Any one who had in his possession the Book of Armagh and the Bachul Isu had made good his claim to be the Comarb of Patrick. The Book of Armagh was at one time believed to have been written by St. Patrick; but we now know that it was penned by a scribe named Ferdomnach, and that he finished the Gospel of St. Matthew, on St. Matthew's Day, 21 September, 807—just when the ravages of the Danes were beginning. It can scarcely be described in strictness as an illuminated manuscript, for in its ornaments colour is very sparingly used. But it has elaborate initials and other drawings in black and white of distinguished merit. It is written, not in the semi-uncial script which we find in the Book of Durrow, but in an excellent minuscule hand. The production of the Book of Armagh may fairly be described as Ferdomnach's life work; for it took many years to accomplish, and the later portions of the book are in the hand of an elderly man. It is not uninteresting to reconstruct in imagination the circumstances amid which it was written. It was begun in times of comparative peace. Year after year Ferdomnach gathered his materials, copied them out, worked at his beautiful drawings. But every year the assaults of the Norsemen became more fierce. The book was perhaps finished when the turn of Armagh came. In 832 it was taken possession of by Turgesius, the Danish leader. In 841 the Primate, Forindan, was driven out, and perhaps Ferdomnach with him. The most sacred Christian site in Ireland became a centre of pagan worship. It was not till 845 that Forindan was able to return to Armagh, and in that very year the scribe of the Book of Armagh 'fell asleep.'

I have said that the number of Irish scholars was greatly reduced in the first twenty-five years of the ninth century. We might expect to find a further dimi-

nution in the years that followed ; but when we turn to the second quarter of the century a surprise awaits us. Not only does the number increase instead of diminishing ; it is greater for that quarter of a century than for any similar period up to the Anglo-Norman conquest. This is the more astonishing when we remember that just then, if we may believe the Annals, the ravages of the " foreigners " were at their very worst. How can we account for it ?

In this way, as it seems to me. In the early years of the century the Danes paid a visit to Iona. In 802, as the Annals tersely tell us, " I Columcille was burned by the Gentiles." Not long afterwards the great community founded by St. Columba was broken up. Some of the monks went to Dunkeld in Scotland, but the majority took refuge at Kells in the County Meath, and founded there in 816 a new community which subsequently became the principal monastery of the Columban Order. Thus just at the time of which I am speaking there was a great influx of monks into Ireland, including among them, no doubt, many students, scribes and artists.

Thus we may explain the large number of scholars who were at work in Ireland during one of the most disastrous periods of its history. And it seems to me, for many reasons, highly probable that to that very period—the second quarter of the ninth century—belonged that glory of Irish art and calligraphy, the Book of Kells. I am glad to note that Sir Edward Sullivan, working on quite different lines has reached the same conclusion. I would suggest that this splendid Gospel Book was the work of the refugees from Iona who settled at Kells.

By a study of photographic reproductions, such, for example, as those which my friend the Rev. Stanford Robinson has given us in his " Celtic Illuminative Art," we can form some notion of the unsurpassed beauty of the penmanship of this wonderful manuscript, of the marvellous intricacy and the accurate drawing of its illuminated pages, of the profuseness of its ornament, and the originality of its designs. But nothing short of an examination of the Book itself can convey to us the richness of its colouring, and the genius of the artists who adorned it. It is said to be the most beautiful book in the world, and I hope that none who have the opportunity will fail to pay a visit to Trinity College and inspect it.

After this brilliant flicker of light we enter the darkness again. The Annals mention but few scribes in the second half of the ninth century ; and there is not in Ireland a single specimen of their work. But better days were coming. The Danes gradually ceased to pillage ; and simultaneously Irish scholars began to be more numerous. After the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, when their power was finally broken, there came a really remarkable revival of learning. At that time the names are recorded of nearly as many scholars as in the second quarter of the ninth century, and now we cannot account for the increase by an immigration. Moreover, teaching seems about the middle of the eleventh century to have become more systematic than in earlier times. Great colleges grew up, especially at Armagh and Clonmacnoise, well supplied with lecturers, and no doubt also with students who profited by their knowledge.

All this we learn from the Irish Annals. But the best proof of it comes not from Ireland, but from Wales.

A few years before the Battle of Clontarf there was born of noble stock, in the district now known as Cardiganshire, a remarkable man named Sulien, who in later life was surnamed ' The Wise.' From his earliest years Sulien the Wise was much addicted to study. We are told that while he was still ' a tender infant ' he ' put forth a Psalter ' (whatever that may mean) ! As he grew older he was seized with the desire to perfect his studies in the schools of Ireland. He spent thirteen years in this country (c. 1157-1170) On his return to Wales he established a school

probably at Padanfawr, in Cardiganshire, and soon afterwards became Bishop of St. David's.

There is good evidence that the school of St. David's, as it is commonly called, attained a high standard, and that it owed much to Sulien's studies in Ireland. The most prominent members of the school were Sulien's four sons. One of them, John by name, wrote a long Latin poem from which I have learned most of what I know about Sulien. And this was not his only venture as a poet. When he gets in ecstasies over his father and the school which he founded we may perhaps think that he was not an unbiassed witness. But we can test his evidence. His Latin verses have been pronounced excellent by a good judge. And the poem which I have mentioned is found in a manuscript written and illuminated by his own hand. Both penmanship and ornament are far superior to those of some of our Irish manuscripts, though of course they do not approach the perfection of the Book of Kells. Again, his brother, Ricemarch the Wise, was also a good writer of Latin verse. From his pen we have a harrowing poem describing the horrors of the Norman conquest of Wales. It is interesting as proving that the deeds of the Germans in Belgium had a parallel in the eleventh century. Ricemarch also wrote a Life of St. David. It is full of references to the Lives of Irish Saints, which remind us that the School of St. David's was a product of Irish learning.

But perhaps the best example of the work of the School of St. David's is a precious little book which once belonged to Bishop Bedell, and is now in the Library of Trinity College. It is known as Ricemarch's Psalter. It contains a Martyrology—one of the most valuable MSS. now existing of the Hieronymian Martyrology, but including the names of some Irish Saints which have no claim to insertion in a martyrology. This is followed by a copy of the Book of Psalms according to St. Jerome's version from the Hebrew. So we learn that the later Biblical scholars of Ireland and Wales did not confine themselves to the Old Latin and Vulgate translations. The Psalter is divided into three parts, each opening with an illuminated page, and each, according to the old Irish fashion, consisting of fifty Psalms. We are at once reminded of the familiar name of the Psalms among the early Irish—the 'three fifties.' The text is written in a small semi-uncial hand, scarcely inferior to those of the best periods of Irish calligraphy; and it would be pronounced Irish by most persons who examined it. But it was penned by a Welshman named Ithael. When his work was done he handed over the volume to John, who adorned it with fine illuminations. The book was prepared as a present for John's brother Ricemarch. And a little poem by Ricemarch at the end of it informs us of these facts. The poem was not only composed by Ricemarch: it seems to be in his own handwriting, and it certainly gives proof that he had considerable Biblical and patristic learning.

With this reference to Ricemarch's Psalter I may bring my lecture to an end. It shows us that when the Danish horrors passed away there was a revival of learning in Ireland, and that Irish scribes, Irish hagiographers and Irish Biblical scholars in the eleventh century returned to the position of their predecessors in the golden age of the seventh century; they were not only men whose lives were given to the study of art and letters, they were the teachers of other nations.



Some Notes on the Family of Warren of Warrenstown, County Louth.

COMPILED BY THE HON. MRS. RICHARD BELLEW.



THE following few deeds relating to the Warrens of Warrenstown* are taken from the family papers of Lord Bellew at Barneath Castle. The Warrens were among the early Norman settlers in Ireland, the name—spelt indifferently Warren, Waryn, or Waryng being found in the records of the counties of Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, and the Rev. Mr. Warren, of Gipsy Hill, London, who made exhaustive researches into his family history quotes Allemand as stating that a convent of nuns of the order of St. Augustine was founded by the family of Warren at Killegh, King's County, in the twelfth century.

Mr. Warren was also of opinion that the Louth branch (settled in the neighbourhood of what is now Annagassan) was an offshoot from that of Warrenstown, Co. Meath, since John Warren in 1422 held lands at Dundalk as well as lands in Meath, (*Pat. Rolls*, 1 Henry VI.). But the Warrens certainly had interests in Louth at an earlier date, for November 20, 1310, we find Adam Waryng as a witness to a grant by William de Repenteney to John de Repenteney, his son, of Rathmolkawe in the tenement of Uruncar (possibly Drumcar) in Ergalia, with mention of the ford of Athganwill, the ford of Athdawye, and the two waters of the said Athganwill. The other witnesses are Symon de Clynton, Roger Gernoun, Henry de Audley, Thomas More, and John Pipparde, clerk.—Atherdee, Tuesday, Eve of St. Columb Abbot, 4 Edw. II.

In 1376 John Waryn was witness to a grant of lands in Adamstown from John Palmer to Robert Gernon.

James Warren, of Warrenstown, County Louth, had lands in the baronies of Dundalk and Ardee, and was probably the Warren of Ardee who was to supply one mounted archer at Athlone in 1576. He was feoffee among others to marriage settlements of Nicholas Hadsor and Maud Plunket in 1583. He got a general pardon

* Warrenstown, now Dillonstown in the parish of Drumcar, Barony of Ardee, 1 mile south from Annagassan and about 4 miles from Dunleer.

in 1603, and died in 1627. He was possibly son of George Warren of Warrentown and grandson of that James Warren of Warrentown who died in 1553.

James appears to have married twice. His second wife was Ellice Taaffe. His eldest son George died in 1663, leaving Patrick, who was transplanted to Connaught in 1656, where he got lands from the Loughrea Commissioners and where he seems to have married and settled down, and left descendants.

Marie Warren, George's daughter, married first Moore and then Christopher Clinton

James Warren's other children were—Mary, married Patrick Bellew of Lisroney, grandson of Sir John Bellew of Bellewstown, Castletown and Roche, who died in 1610, when she married Patrick Russell; William, born 1598, who was killed at Drogheda in 1649 and left a son Matthew. It is related of this William Warren (of Cashellstown) that his feet were both shot off, probably by a cannon ball, during the defence of Drogheda, and that he continued to fight on the stumps and against fearful odds till he was finally overcome. His horse escaping galloped through the enemy lines all the way back to his stable at Warrentown. Henry Warren, born May 15th, 1606, administered his father's estate in 1631. There appear to have been several other children of whom I have found no further record.

May 16th, 1603, Walter Warren of Warrentown was a trustee for the marriage settlements of Patrick Bellew and Mary Warren.

From thence onward till about 1666 the signatures of various members of the family appear on many different documents. For instance, on February 16th, 1633, William Warren of Cashelstown is witness to a deed of John Bellew, Gerard Colley of Atherdie and George Gernon of Downmaghan.

In one of the many lists of lands and property in the hand-writing of John Bellew of Cromwell's time, Warrentown and Cassan are mentioned "with the castle belonging by way of inheritance and possessed by Mr. Patrick Warren, 23rd Jan., 1641, now possessed by him by way of contract from Captain Sterne, who claims an interest therein for the Commonwealth. The same castle, town and lands now valued to be worth 4/- the acre."

The Warrens have shared the fate of so many other old Irish families who were transplanted to "Hell or Connaught," and the countryside where they flourished for so many generations knows them no longer. Their very name is lost with that of their ancestral home, which was rechristened Dillonstown, the modern name of the townland, from the grantee under the Cromwellian Plantation, Arthur Dillon, to whom it was confirmed by the Act of Settlement, with the proviso that the lands should be called Dillonstown, and the castle, marked Glydemouth Castle on Taylor and Skinner's map of 1777 is known now by no name but "Dillonstown Castle." The first storey remains to a height of about 20 feet, adjoining the house of Mrs. Corcoran.

CXXI.

1588, March 31. Lease by RICHARD ORPE of Swodes, county Dublin, gentleman, EDWARD ORPE and JAMES ORPE, of Dublin, merchants, his sons, to JAMES WARREN of Warens-tone, county Louth, gentleman, of all their lands of Adamstone, county Louth; to hold from the feast of SS. Philip and James which shall be in 1521 [*sic*], for term of three score and eleven years, for a yearly rent of 40s. payable at the feasts of All Saints' and SS. Philip and James.

31 March, 1588.

[*English.*]

CL1.


1608, June 7. Confirmation by EDWARD ORPEY and CHRISTOPHER BRICE, son and heir to ROBERT BRICE of Drogheda, merchant, surviving feoffee of trust to the said Edward of the lease made by RICHARD ORPEY and the said Edward Orpey of three score acres of land in Adamston* in county Louth, to JAMES WARREN of Warrentown

* Adamstown.

for term of three score and eleven years at a yearly rent of 40s. ; also confirmation by the same, of an enfeoffment by way of mortgage made by the said Richard and Edward to WALTER WARREN, son and heir to the said James of the reversion of the said land until they pay to him 30*l*.

[English].

Witnesses.

7 June, 1608, 6 James I.
Witnesses to the signing, sealing and delivery :—
NICHOLAS BOILBAN,
is marck 

EDWARD BATHE,

PATRICK BELLEWE,
WILLIAM FYNING.

III.

1620,
July 4.

Bond by WALTER WARREN of DUBLIN, esquire, to RICHARD FITZSYMONS of DROGHEDA, alderman, in 1000*l*.

Whereas the said Walter Warren acquired several estates and interests in lands in Dondalke called WARREN'S LANDE and thereof made conveyances to SIR RICHARD BOLTON, knight, and EDMUND NUGENT, esquire, and likewise to NATHANIEL FOXE, esquire, for which they sued the said James Warren, and an order for possession is past against him and an injunction awarded, and also there past several writings and letters between the said James and Sir Richard, and likewise between the said James and Walter, touching payments and discharge of debts and the marriage of Walter and charge of jointures to be settled on the lands of James ; and James and Walter have submitted to the order of BARTHOLOMEW DILLON and PEETER HUSSEY, esquires, and in what they shall disagree, to the umpireship of CHRISTOPHER CRUISE of the Halle, Esquire, in all matters of controversy and demand concerning the premises ; if Walter shall acquit and discharge Sir Richard, Edmund and Nathaniel, and shall cause them to acquit and discharge the said James of all bonds jointures and demands, and to perform such orders as the said arbitrators shall make, by the 10th of the present month, and James may occupy the said lands and all other castles and lands which he holds, without disturbance by the said Sir Richard, Walter, Edmund and Nathaniel ; the present bond shall be void and of none effect.

Signed :—WA: WARREN.

[Seal.]

Witnesses :—BARTHO: DILLON,

PET: HUSSEY.

CHRIST: EVER.

WYLL: WYLLAN.

CXL.

1626
August 7.

Quitclaim by RICHARD WHITE of Richardston in county Louth, gentleman, to GEORGE WARREN of Warrenston, JOHN HADZOR of Moymuck, NICHOLAS CLINTON of Iriston and PATRICK LEVYN of Dysart, of Lessrany, Little Arthurston, Kenvick-rath, Graftonstone, Hitcheston, Nicolston, Tullaghdonell, Scobbagh, and elsewhere in county Louth.

7 August, 1626.

Witnesses to delivery :—

MICHELL TAAFFE.

STEPHEN TAAFFE.

PATRICK RUSSELL.

7
162[8].
Feb. 9.

Bond by GEORGE WARREN of WARRENSTON, in county Louth, gentleman, and JOHN BABBE of CASHELTON in the same county, gentleman, to ROBERT BATHE of the city of DUBLIN, merchant, in 600*l*.

Whereas various suits depend between the said George Warren and ELICE WARREN, *alias* TAAFFE, widow, and her younger children ; if George perform the order of RICHARD BERSFORD of BALLYBIN and ROBERT LYNCE of CROBOY, county Meath, esquires, arbitrators, and in what they disagree, of THOMAS STRONGE of DUBLIN, gentleman, either party swerving ("swarrowe") from the order, paying 300*l*. penalty to the other party, the said order to be given before 17 March next ; then this bond to be void.

Signed :—George Warren.

[Seal.]

Robine Bathe. [Seal.]

Witnesses :—WILLIAM WARREN.

HENRY WARREN. PATRICKE + PLUNKETT.

EDWARD MOLLINEUX. LAWRENCE + TAAFFE'S marke.

8
162[9]
Feb. 14.

Letter from JAMES WARREN to PATRICKE RUSSELL :
"Cossin Patricke"—he cannot find the bond, but this letter shall be dischargd
of all debts or accounts to this date ; especially for 20*l*. which the said Patrick had
to the use of Mr. JOHN BEDLOWE.

Signed :—James Warren.

"Postcripta—I shall desire your favourable letter to Mr. HODGER & alsoe
if my Cossin WILLM. WARREN did send yow any letter to be drected unto him that
yow would be pleased to send yt mee by the berer yow may inform Mr. Hodger
by your letter that I had Brought some Corne into this kindom & retorning the
monies into England to dischargd my credyt yt was seised upon, if yow thinke not
the dischargd sufficient for the twentie poundes have it drawn yourself & I will
sett my hand to yt. Soe with my best wishes I rest,

Yours to his Power,


James Warren."

(Addressed)—To his worthy and much
respected Cossin Mr. Patricke
Russell at BROWNSTON these
deliver.

1630.
June 8.

Bond by WILLIAM RYDALL and RICHARD RYDALI of MARTINSTON, county
Loweth, farmers, to HENRY WARREN of WARRENTOWN, gentleman, in 40*l*.

If William and Richard convey and assure to Henry, the houses, town, village,
hamlet and lands of Martinston, within the barony of Ferard, to hold for term of
twenty-one years from 1 May next, at the yearly rent of 9*l*. payable at May and
Hallowtide ; and for 5*l*. paid beforehand ; then this bond to be void.

Signed :—Richard Rydall his marke 
Willm. Ridail his mark |

[Two seals.]

Witnesses —TAM: BURNELL, RICH: TAAFFE,
RICHARD  FAGRON his mark.

1636.
No. 12.

Mr. Taafe's of Braganston his bond for securing a lease of 41 yeares of the
lands of Mullacarrie being of estimation 60 acres.

Be it known unto all men by these psents That I John Taafe of Braganston
in the Countie of Loweth, Esq., doe acknowledge and confesse myself to owe and
be duly indebted unto my well beloved Cossen William Warren of Warrenton in
the Countie afforsaid. Gent., in the full and just sune of twoe hundred pounds ster.
goode currant lawfull money of and in England to be paid unto the said William
his executors or assignes at his or their will and pleasure, for pformance whereof
well and truly to be made in maner and forme aforesaid I the said John Taafe doe
binde me myne heires executors admrs. and assignes firmly by theise psentes In
wittnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale and subscribed my name
Dated the eight day of Junne Anno Dni 1636.

JO. TAAFFE [Seal].

Whereas the above named William hath already satisfied and paid unto the
above bounden John Taafe the some of Three score pounds str. currant money
of and in England which said somes of money beinge three yeares rent befor the
hand for three score acres of land in Mullaghcarrie within the prish of Dromyn
be it more or lesse commonly called and known by the name of Taafe of Braganston
his lands in consideration whereof and for the considerations hereafter expressed
the said John hath convenanted to make unto the said William or to his executors
upon demande an indefeasible interest for 41 years to begin from the feast of Phyllyp
and Jacob next followinge the date of the above bounde of the said three score acres
of land commonly called Taafe of Braganston his lands by it more or lesse lyinge
and beinge in Town and lands of Mullaghcarrie afforsaid with all and everie the
appurtenances therunto any way belonginge. The said William and his assignes
yielding and payinge for the said premisses and lands yearly and every yeare during
the said tearme (the first three yeares only excepted) the some of twenty pounds
ster. English money to be paid by moyties at the feasts of All Saints' and Phillip
and Jacob or within one moneth next after any of the said feasts The condic'on of the
above obligacon therefore is such that if the said John Taafe his heires executors
admrs. or assignes doe and shall make a sufficient lease of all and singler the pmisses
with their appurtenances for the tyme tearme and continuance as afforsaid and to
commence and upon demande as aforesaid unto the said William his executors or
assignes the said lease to be made as the Councell in law of the said William
shall devise or advise And if the said Willm. and his assignes shall quietly and

peaceably enjoy the same duringe the said tearme of 41 yeares without the lett mollestation or hindraunce of any pson or psons and that freed exonerated and discharged from all maner of incumbrances whatsoe the rents and reservacons aforesaid only excepted that then the above obligacon to be void otherwise to stand in full force vertue and strenth in law.

Signed sealed and delivered in the psents of us whose names ensue—Nicholas Taaffe, Lawrence Taaffe, James Taaffe.

Memorandum—That the within named Willm. and his assignes is bounde to improve the within premisses either in inclozing the same or buildinge at least to the value of £40 str.

WM. WARREN.

Memorandum—That the said William is to receive twentie pounds ster. of the now occupiers of the within premisses by assignment of the said John Taaffe soe that from the first day of May next ensuinge the date hereof the said Wil.m. is only to be allowed the two first yeares rent. In witnes whereof the said Willm. hath hereunto put his hand the day and yeare within written. Wm. Warren.

1638
December
17.

Acknowledgement by WILLIAM WARREN of Warrenstowne, county Lowth, gentleman, that his name was used only in trust and to the sole use and behoof of JOHN BELLEW of Willestowne, in an indenture of mortgage dated 30 November, 1638, by which JOHN TAAFFE of Braganstowne, county Lowth, esquire, mortgaged to the said William a yearly rent of 40*l.* from the town and lands of Reynoldstowne Garvagh, otherwise Garrenlagh, Aneglogg, Drakestowne, Boolies and Heghlem, until 400*l.* be paid at one payment together with arrears of rent.

17 December, 1638.

Wm. Warren.

Witnesses to the signing, sealing and delivery,

CHRISTOPHER DILLON.

JOHN RAYNER.

JOHN DUFFY his \mathfrak{P} marke.

8
1639
January
28.

Writ to CHRISTOPHER MARCH, ROBERT NUGENT, RICHARD NUGENT and HENRY WARREN, to appear in the Court of Chancery of Ireland to make rejoinder to the replication of GEFTRY FAY and to be joined to the commission for examination of witnesses.

Tested by THOMAS, VISCOUNT WENTWORTH, deputy general of Ireland.

Dublin, 28 January, 14 Charles I. EXHAM. WANDEFORD, Master of the Rolls.

1639,
March 29

Indenture. NICHOLAS GERNON of the Disert, gentleman, in county Louth, lets to farm to PATRICK LIVING of Drogheda, baker, sixty acres of land, be it more or less, in the Carikin and Disert, for three years from May next, for the yearly rent of 14*l.* for the first two years, and 13*l.* for the last year, payable at the feasts of All Saints' and SS. Philip and James; and Patrick agrees to pay to his sister JENNET LIVING 15*l.* at the next harvest; and to TEGE MAGONELL one couple of corn, to GEORGE LIVING one acre of stubble and one acre of barley land, and to HARRY LIVING 20*s.* yearly, during the said term, due to them from the said Nicholas.

29 March, 1639.

Patrick + Leeving.

[Seal.]

his usuall marke.

Witnesses to the signing, sealing and delivery,

WILL: MOORE.

THEOBALD (. . .) DON.

RICHARD MOORE.

1639,
August 8.

Memorandum on the dorse that Nicholas Gernon assigns his interest in the said rent for the said term, to WILLIAM WARREN of Warrenstown, gentleman.

8 August 1639.

Nicholas Garnon.

Witnesses :—HEN. WARREN.

JOHNE ff WARREN, his marke.

1639,
November
3

Bond by HENRY WARREN of WARRENSTON, gentleman, to JOHN BELLEW of WILLISTON, esquire, in 100*l.*, to give to him possession by 1 May, 1640, of about thirty acres called PLUNKETT'S LAND in FINWOID in the parish of Dromcar to hold for term of ten years at the yearly rent of 9*l.*; for which the said John has given to him one deer-coloured gelding valued at 10*l.*

Signed :—Hen: Warren.

Witnesses :—WM. WARREN.

JOHN MANYNE.

[Seal.]

1639,
3 Novem. Bond by HENRY WARREN of WARRENTON, gentleman, to WILLIAM WARREN of Warrenton, in 200*l.*; to be void if Henry give all help and assistance in a suit to be brought in the name of either or both, as William shall think fit, to establish their title to the sixty acres called ORPHIE'S, LAND in ADAMSTOWN in the parish of DROMCAR.

(Signed:;) Hen. Warren. [Seal.]

Witnesses :—JOHN BELLEWE.
JOHN KANYNE.

1639,
Nov. 16. Sale by HENRY WARREN of WARRENTON, gentleman, to his brother WILLIAM WARREN of CASHELSTON, gentleman, for "a valuable some of money," of six couples of corn—viz, six acres of wheat beare or barley and six acres of oats to be chosen by William out of all Henry's . . . * or weldinge either in Warrenton or PLUNKETT'S LAND, at the next harvest; for which Henry binds himself in 60*l.*

Signed :— Hen: Warren. [Seal.]

Witnesses :—NICHAS + WARREN
his marke.
JOHN + WARREN his marke.

1641,
February 12. HENRY WARREN, plaintiff.
MARY MOORE otherwise CLINTON and others, defendants.
Upon motion of Mr. TYRRELL of councell with the plaintiff, it is ordered by the Lord Chancellor that the defendants within six days shall deposit in the registrar's hands such writings as they confess in their answer, do remain in their custody; failing this an attachment shall issue against them.


JA: GRACE.

1641,
May 11. Covenant by HENRY LIVIN of Disart, county Lowth, gentleman, that whereas by indenture of the present date, he has demised all his houses and lands in the town and fields of Disart to WILLIAM WARREN of Dromcarre, county Lowth, gentleman, for eight years from May day last; if the said William shall happen to sue or to be sued therefor, he shall be allowed all expenses to be detained out of the first yearly rents of the said lands.

11 May, 1641. Henrie Liven. [Seal.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presents of us,
VICTOR QUIN. CONMUCKE + REILLE, his marke.

1641,
Sept. 26. Bond by CATHERINE CHAMBERLINE of CLOEGHER, county Louth, widow, and JOHNE RATH of CALIAGHSTON, tyler, to JOHN BELLEW of WILLESTON, esquire, for 11*l.*, to be paid at his will and pleasure.

Signed :—Catherine Chamberline
her marke .

[Two seals.]
(Fish, curling up. Stag.)


Johne X Rath,
his marke.

Witnesses :—HEN: WARREN,
FINIAN WOODS, M. BURNELL.

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by NICHOLAS WHITT of GANDERSTON, county Lowth, gentleman, for 10*l.* Signed :—The usuall marke of

Witnesses :— Nicholas X Whitt. [Seal.]
M. BURNELL. (Fish, as above)
MATHEW PLUNKETT. HEN: WARREN.

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by PATRICK KEERVAN of KILLCLOEGHER, fisher, for 25*s.*
Not signed or witnessed. No seal.

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by JOHN FULCHAGH of KILLCLOEGHER, farmer, for 11*l.*
Signed :—John X Fullchagh,
his marke.  [Seal—fish.]
Witnesses :—M. BURNELL
HEN: WARREN. FINNAN WOODS.

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by PATRICK FEDEGAN, of KILLCLOEGHER, farmer, DORBE
McILLPATRICK and JAMES McILLPATRICK of the same, smiths, for 44*l*.

Signed :—Patrick Fedegan, his usuall
marke ☿

Witnesses :—

M. BURNELL.
HEN: WARREN.
FINNAN WOODS.

Dorbe McIll X Patrick, his marke.
James Mc X Ill patrick, his marke.
[Two seals—fish.
[One seal—stag.]

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by RICHARD FULCHAGH of CLOEGHER, county Louth, farmer,
JHONE MAGARTHAN of the same, carpender, WILLIAM RATH of the same, tyeler,
NICHOLAS MAGOUGHY and PATRICK KEARVAN of THE DALLS, cotters, for 44*l*.

Signed :—Richard X Fulchagh, his marke.

Johne Magarthan X his marke.

William Rath X his marke. Patrick Keervan, his marke ☿.
(Witnesses as above.) The usuall X marke of

Nicholas McGouhy

Three impressions of one seal (Stag) ; two of another (Fish).

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by JOHNE MCKEEVER and PATRICK MCENLEYE of CALIAGHSTON
cotters, and HENRY RUIN of the same, taylor, for 10*l*. 5*s*.

Signed :—John McKeever, his marke.

Witnesses :—M. BURNELL.

HEN: WARREN.

FINNAN WOODS.

X
Henry Ruin ☿ his marke.

Two impressions of one seal (Stag) ; one of another (Fish).

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by JANE INGRAMME of MAINE, county Louth, wydow, for 7*l*. 10*s*.

Witnesses :—HEN: WARREN.
FINNAN WOODS.

Signed :—Jann Ingram, her
marke ☿

[Seal—fish.]

1641,
Sept. 26. Similar bond by PATRICK MCENTEERE THE YOUNGER, PATRICK CONNLAN,
PATRICK HENNY, PATRICK KENEDY, GEORGE FULCHAGH, NICHOLAS MCENTEERE,
JOHN CREELY, PATRICK CREELLY, THOMAS FRIDY, PARICK DAWSE, all of CLOEGHER,
county Lowth, fishers, for 31*l*. 10*s*.

Signed :—Patrick X Creell, his marke.

Witness :—M. BURNELL.

[No seal.]

1641,
Oct. 12. Acknowledgment by M. BURNELL that he has accounted to his cousin HENRY
WARREN for all accounts and demands and that there remain due to him 67*l*. which
he will pay as Henry's counsel shall advise.

Signed :—M. Burnell.

[Seal—fish as before.]

Witnesses :—JAMES BURNELL.
FINNAN WOODS.

1641,
Oct. 25. Depositions of witnesses taken at DONLEER, by commission of the Court of
Chancery on behalf of HENRY WARREN, plaintiff, against MARIE MOORE, *alias*
CLYNTON, widow, defendant.

JOHN BELLEW of WILLESTOWN, esquire, aged about thirty-five years :—

He knows both parties and knows the town and lands of ADAMSTON. He
knew JAMES WARREN and GEORGE WARREN, his son, deceased.

He heard credibly that James Warren had an estate of inheritance in one moiety
of ADAMSTON, and in the other moiety, being sixty acres, an estate for many years
yet to come by lease from one ORPIE in co. DUBLIN but the yearly rent he knows not.

James died sixteen years ago, and the premisses held by lease were let by the
defendant and her late husband CHRISTOPHER CLINTON for 18*l*. a year, as he has
heard, but he believes that they might be let for 15*l*. since the death of James. He
has seen the last will of James by which ELLICE TAAFFE, *alias* WARREN, relict of
the said James, and the plaintiff were appointed executors. Ellice disclaimed,
and the plaintiff administered the goods of James.

3. The late George Warren and Christopher Clinton held the possession and took
the profits of the said leased land. George died about eight years ago, this harvest,
and left to the defendant a good estate in goods, but he knows not of what value.
All the goods and chattels of George and Christopher came into the hands of the
the defendant.

4. James Warren granted a rentcharge out of Adamston to NICHOLAS WARREN of HARRESTON, but the certainty of a rent or mortgage he knows not. Nicholas never enjoyed the lands. He heard that the mortgage was paid soon after the death of . . . (torn).

5. He cannot depose.

6. He knows that the plaintiff is aged thirty-five years last May, for he often heard his mother, who was sister to the plaintiff, say that he was born the May before deponent, whose age was upon a certain occasion made to appear and proved by several witnesses to be thirty-five years, 22 January last. He has seen plaintiff's age written among the ages of the other male children of James in a book.

WILLIAM WARREN of CASHELSTOWNE, gentleman, aged about forty-two years:—

1. He knows the parties; Adamstown; and knew George and James Warren.

2. James had a lease for ninety-nine years from one Orpie, of sixty acres being a moiety of Adamstown, at 40s. yearly rent. James died about sixteen years ago last May, and the premises were let by the defendant and her late husband Clinton for 18l. yearly, and they might be let at 15l. every year since the death of James. James by his last will appointed his then wife and the plaintiff executors. His wife disclaimed, and the plaintiff took up the sole executorship.

3. The defendant and her late husband Christopher Clinton possessed the lands and took the profits since the death of James and George. George died eight years ago this summer and was worth in goods about 40l., besides 65 about this defendant's marriage portion which was then in arrears, and afterwards recovered by the defendant and her said late husband. All the goods of George came to her hands as administratrix of . . .

4. James mortgaged Adamston to Nicholas Warren late of Harrestowne for 50l. The mortgage was paid by George Warren to Nicholas, but when he knows not.

5. George, in the lifetime of James, did own Adamston, but how much yearly rent he reserved upon George deponent does not remember, but James at the time of his death charged George in his inventory of debts, for arrears of rent due out of the premisses, about 39l.

6. The plaintiff was born 15 May, 1606, as appears by a register or writing book in which James wrote with his own hand the ages of his male children. At James's death plaintiff was nineteen years of age. Deponent is son to James and perfectly knows his handwriting.

THOMAS TANON of DROMCAR, gentleman, aged about sixty-three years;—

1. He knows the parties, and Adamstown; and knew James and George Warren.

2. James had a term of years in sixty acres of land, on the west side of the town of Adamstowne from Orpie at some small yearly rent. James died sixteen years ago this summer. Executors, Ellice Taaffe, *alias* Warren, his wife, and the plaintiff. Ellice disclaimed.

3. The defendant MARY MOORE and her late husband Christopher Clinton possessed the said leased lands and had the whole profit from the death of James and George respectively. George died eight years ago this summer and at his death had ten garrans and mares, twelve cows great and small, fifteen c . . . e of corn in ground, and household stuff of some small value, and was worth 70l. The defendant disposed of the goods as administratrix.

4. 5. He cannot depose.

6. The plaintiff is aged thirty-five years, 16 May last, as he has seen in a book wherein James, plaintiff's father, wrote the age of all his male children. He knows the handwriting of James.

Endorsed:—Copie trust and several other copies et pet. (= petitions?). I carried with me to ENGLAND in STRAFORD's tyme the booke of the souldiers B . . . ck (barrack?) then.

1652,
Oct. 14.

Bond by PATRICK WARREN of WARRENTOWN, county Lowth, gentleman, to JOHN BELLEW of WILLISTON, esquire, in 24l. for payment of 12l. on 31 December next. If the said 12l. be not paid, he is to pay in satisfaction thereof, five barrels of wheat of Dundalke measure, three barrels of beare, and six barrels of oats on 31 January next.

Signed:—Patr: Warren.

Witnesses:—CHRISTOPHER DILLON.

CORMACKE + NEILL's marke.

166⁷₄,
March 15.

This Indenture witnesseth that MATHEW WARREN, sonne of Wm. WARREN, late of Cashelltowne in the countie of Lowth, Gent., deceased, of his owne free will and with the consent of his Uncle JOHN WARREN, hath putt and bound himselfe an Apprentice unto PATRICK BATH of the Cittie of Dublin, Barber Chirurgion and after the manner of an Apprentice with him and his assignes to serve and dwell for and during the full Tearme of seaven yeares next following the date of these presents and one yeare of service next alter, During all wch time his Master's lawfull commands he shall readily obey and deligently performe, his secretts keep close, hurt unto his said Mr. he shall not doe nor consent to be done, but it to his power hinder, or thereof give timely notice unto his said Mr., his said master's goods he shall not inordinately waste, nor purloine nor to anie one lend without consent. Fornication he shall not commit nor Matrimonie contract, At Cards dise or any other unlawfull games he shall not play; Alehouses and Taverns he shall not frequent but upon lawfull occasions and from his service by day or night he shall not absent or elong himselfe, but as a true faithfull honest and obedient servant shall beare and behave himselfe both in word and deed during all the said Tearme. And the said Patrick Bath, unto his said Apprentice the Art Trade and profession of a Barber-Chirurgion wch he now useth shall teach and instruct and cause to be taught the best manner he can, and shall finde and allowe him dyett lodging washing apparrell and all other necessities with fit correction, during the said Tearme. In witness whereof the said parties to these present Indentures have interchangeably putt their hands and seales the fifteenth day of March, 1663.

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presents of JOHN FORSTER
CHRISTOPHER BATHE, AUGUSTINE DARCY."

Mathew
Warren. [Seal.

1671,
August 10.

Statement by MATHEW WARREN (brother of MARY WARREN, who is married to Mr. CHRISTOPHER FRENCH of LOGHREACH, merchant). Whereas "I am intended to parte the kingdom and to goe upon the now levies for FRANCE and therefore in discharge of my conscience I have thought fitt heereby to declare the truth in som things wherein I have beene examined" in a suit now depending between the said Christopher French, plaintiff and JOHN BELLEW, defendant, concerning 20*l*. lent in 1658 by John to Christopher, of which the said Christopher alleges that he has paid 10*l*. to the said Mathew by order of the defendant.

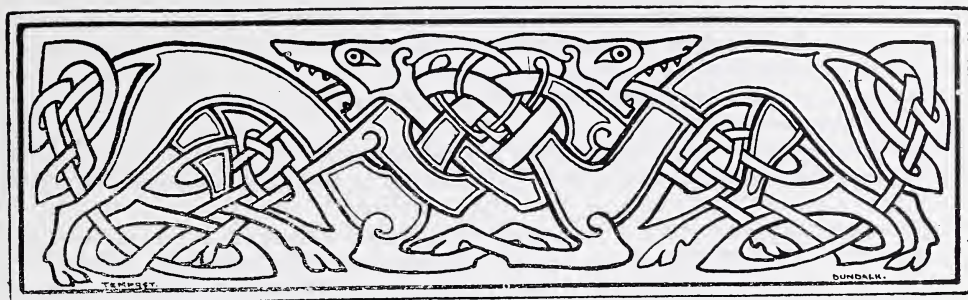
Mathew declares that he never heard the said John give such directions, and Christopher never gave to him any money but as follows: that Christopher having informed him that his father WILLIAM WARREN (who was killed in TREDATH when the town was taken by the late usurper CROMWELL) left a considerable estate in money, plate and jewels, in the hands of EDMUND WARREN who then lived in WATERFORD, which Christopher said came into the hands of ALEXANDER WARREN, a near kinsman of his, whereof he gave the said John Bellew part, and if Mathew would sue them, he (Christopher) would assist him with money, whereto Mathew "consented." and Christopher gave him, being then in CONNAUGHT, 30*s*. and a little nag with a saddle and bridle which he supposes was worth 30*s*. more, to begin the suit; Mathew did so, *in forma pauperi*, and preferred a bill in Chancery, and Christopher gave him 20*s*. to go on with the suit, and then another 20*s*., which is all that he ever received from him.

He further declares that Christopher having sued John Bellew, thinking to avoid a judgment which John had against him for the said money which John had lent to him, persuaded and worked upon Mathew to be examined in the suit and to declare that Christopher gave him 10*l*. by order of John Bellew.

All which, Mathew declares, "being now upon parteing the kingdom as aforesaid, and being much troubled in conscience for what I have don in the premisses."

Mathew Warren. [Seal.]

Witnesses: GEARRALD AYLMER.
ROB: BELLEW.
JAMES BELLEW.
THO: TEELINGE
PATT: WARREN



The Minute Book of the Corporation of Ardee

A.D. 1661 ONWARDS.

(Continued from page 362, Vol. III, No. 4).

NOTE.—Words in square brackets are supplied from the context to fill illegible spaces in the MS. The numbers in parenthesis are the pages of the MS.

(11) Att an assembly heid before [Henry Townley] and Jonathan Balle, Esqrs, the 16th day of October, 1663 [Portreeves] of the sayd Burough.

Thomas Cockayne, Esqr., by genll consent of . . . yeare aforsayd admitted freeman of this Corpoc'on.

Bartholamewe Doyle, gent., sworne freeman pursuant to admision at the last genll assembly.

Andriewe Kelliough, me'cht., enfranchized, paying . . . shill. with his (?) fees.

William Heron admitted free, payinge 3*d*. fine with his.

It is the sayd day agreed upon concluded & . . . and with the assent and the consent of sayd portreeves, Burgesses and freemen in this Corporac'on that the ensuigne list this day presented to the assembly by the Register bee by the authority of the sayd Assembly approved And established A table of fees for the sev'all Courts heald within this Burough by this Charter to all officers and ministers of justice within & of this Burough for the future.

To the Register :

For entringe ev'y action, foure pence.
 For ev'y arrest to the sergt, six pence.
 For ev'y Court Continuance, two pence.
 For drawinge ev'y repleavion (?), one shill sixpence.
 To the Portr. for signeinge, one shill.
 For every rule of Court, foure pence.
 For ev'y retraxit & Concord, one shill.
 For ev'y venire facias, one shill. sixpence.
 For Joyninge the issue, sixpence.
 For filcinge every declarac'on & plea, sixpence.
 For making up the records, four . . .
 For entringe and recordinge the . . .
 For entringe ev'y . . .

. one shill.
 (12) facias, one shill. sixpence.
 the proceedings thereupon at supra.
 bayle to any action, sixpence.
 For & alloweinge of ev'y bill at cost, sixpence.
 For A dismissee, one shill.
 For the fileinge of A hebeas Corpus from the higher Court, 2/-
 Makinge up the record and returning it thereupon, two shill. sixpence.
 For fileinge ev'y writt of error, one shill. sixpence.
 For returneinge ev'y record thereupon, six shill. eightpence.
 For ev'y Recog of the peace or good behavior, two shill. sixpence.
 For entr. appearance thereupon and cancellinge such Recog, two shill. sixpence.
 For ev'y pcess against any presented at Quartr Sessions, two shill.
 For app'ance upon Indictmt or presentint, sixpence.
 For recordinge ev'y submission upon Ejectmt or Indictmt, 2s. 6d. (?).
 For ev'y one acquitted for felony or trespasse by proclamation or otherwise,
 three shill. sixpence.
 For ev'y one enfranchized, four shill. sixpence.
 For ev'y one sworne Burgisse, six shill. eightpence.
 For enroleinge any apprentice, sixpence.
 For the Copy of any Indictmt, sixpence.
 For Copy of any record longe or short, two shill. sixpence.

ffees to the portreeves.

For signeinge ev'y repl . . . return . . . one shill.
 For ev'y judgment given, one shill.
 For signeinge ev'y execution, one shill.
 For ev'y one made free, one shill.
 For ev'y dismissee, one shill.

ffees to the Sergants at Mace :

For ev'y arrest, sixpence.
 sworne, fourpence.

(13) *Attorney :*

To the Attorney upon first . . . two shill.
 For ev'y poar (?) of Attur, fourpence.
 To the Attur upon triall, two shill sixpence.
 For draweinge ev'y docket, plea . . . two shill sixpence.
 For draweinge bill of costs, sixpence.

ffees to the poore :

For ev'y one enfranchized, sixpence.

Order'd and agreed upon by Genll Consent of this Assembly that the Portreeves for the time being, Wm. Armitage, John Fowkes, John Ruxton, John ———, Samuel Banks, Richd. Cooley, Burgesses Arthur Ward, Thomas ———, Thomas Tyres, Robt. Lee, Henry Rogers and Thomas Green and William ———, Freeman, bee and are hereby nominated and Elected and by the assent of this assembly established A comon Councell for the body Politique of the said Corporac'on who are

hereby Inpowered to meete together as often as they shall see cause in the intervalls of Assembly at such times and at such convenient places as they shall think fitt within the said Corporac'on, then and there to consider, prepare and resolve of and concerning matters as do may or shall concern the honr. credit benefitt tests and welfare of this Corporac'on and the better government thereof, all and (sic) every such a resolution and conclusion as shall be upon mature deliberation in comon councill conceived by the aforenam'd or any seven of them that is to say Three Burgesses, three Freemen and one of the Portreevs to be always one, shall be agreed or concluded, shall be referred and reported to the next Assembly ensueing theree to receive confirmation or rejection and that no act of comon councill be otherwise binding this Corporac'on, any act or usage to the contrary heretofore made in any wise notwithstanding.

Agreed by Genll consent of this assembly the day and yeare . . . that the present Register receive in lieu of Sallery from this Corporation the sume of ten pounds per ann. for his encouragement to serve the Corporac'on . . .

Resolved that the sergeants at Mace receive forty (?) . . . yearly to buie (?) them cioakes, &c.

(14) [Ordered that the] present portreeves together with . . . and John Tyres be impowered from the comon councill to treate upon Wednesday next at Atherdee with the respective Debenturors purchisors or whoe are distinctly possessed of any part or parcell of the Comons belonginge to the Corporac'on or Atherdee concerninge the surendringe of such possessions to the Corporation as also of A demise of the sayd lands to the sayd persons accordinge to their proportionable houldings and for what tearme and of the rents to bee thereupon reserved and to report the result of that conference to the Comon Councill at their next sittinge.

An Assembly heaid and kept the 24th day of December, 1663, Henry Towneley and Jonathan Balle portreeves.

The day and yeare above sayd it was put to the question whether or noe the Comons which belonges to this Burough should be sett to any particular pseron or persons or kept as Comons in genll for the use of this Corporation.

It was carried in the affirmative that it should bee sett.

The same day it was putt to the question whether this post Assembly should proceede to sett the Comons this day or at the Genll Assembly next followinge. It was agreed and concluded by the assent and consent of the portreeves, Burgesses, Comon Councillmen and the rest of the Freemen of this Burough that it should be sett this same day and offered at the next Genll Assembly and there to have allowance of this day proceeding.

(15) The same day it was concluded and agreed by the Geni Assembly afore-said that the Comons that is sett was given out in part of satisfac'on to the und . . . (?) of their arrears. That those persons and none else ——— them should refuse to become tenants to this Corporation shall have the same proportion of lands so allotted them for sixty years Commencing at May Day last past at the rate of two shillings and six pence sterling per acre per ann. during the above term of sixty and one years, always provided, that every man undernamed shall have his proportion of lands surveyed by a known Instrumentall Surveyor which Surveyor shall be chosen and Appointed by the Portreeves for the time being and they agree for the sd. Survey to be forthwith pay'd to the Surveyor so Chcsen and Appointed.

John Ruxton, Esqr.
Wm. Armitage, Esq.r.
John Fowkes, Esqr.
Wm. Pepper, Esqr.
Henry Gwither, gent.

Richard Cooley, gent.
Thomas Greene, gent.
Edwd. Nicholls, gent.
John Hardwick, gent.
Rowland Cooke, gent.

At a Gen'all Assembly heald and kept the 15th day of January, 1663, before Henry Towneley and Jonathan Balle, Esqrs., Portreeves of the said Bur. of Atherdee.

The day and yeare above sayd the proceedings of the last Assembly was read and declared to this Genall Assembly (for) their consent and assent which was by them generally assented unto and order'd by the power of this genall assembly every person or persons so concerned shall have their Leases duly and accomplished by the next generall assembly and the proceedings of this day to bee irrevokable.

Att a gen'all assembly held and kept the . . . day of April, 1664, Henry Towneley and Jonathan Balle, Esqrs., Portreeves of the sayd Burough of Atherdee (16) . . . written it was ordered by the assent and consent of the whole assembly that the Comon Councell shall meete and sitt at some convenient place on Thursday the 16th day of May next and then and there consider of all such things as may bee for the good of this Burough and the same so concluded by them to present at the next Gen'll Assembly.

Order'd that what grant of Corpora'con Lands that formerly was granted and since Leases perfected be enter'd and recorded.

Granted to John Ruxton, Burgesse, thirty eight acres of Lands for sixty and one years at two shillings sixpence per acre cleere Rent which comes to foure pounds sixteen shillings three pence—04*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*

Granted to Henry Gwither, Burgesse, for the like tearme Sixty Four acres of Lands at Two shill. sixpence p. acre, which comes to Eight Pounds—08: 00: 00

Granted to John Fowkes, Burgesse, seventy-nine acres of land, whereof 67 is at Two shillings and sixpence, and Twelve acres at Five shillings p. ann. cleere rent, which comes to eleven pounds seaven shill. sixpence—11: 07: 06.

Granted to William Pepper, Burgesse, Forty Three acres and a half at two shill. sixpence per acre, and also several other small tenements and gardens in Irish Street at fifteen shillings p. annum for the tearme afforsayd, which in all amounts to six pounds three shill. ninepence per ann—06: 03: 09.

(17) Granted to William Armitage, Burgesse, 16 acres for sixty and one year at two shill. sixpence . . . shill. per ann.

Granted unto Henry Rogers a house and messuage and backyard for sixty and one years at the cleere rent of eight shillings sterg.

Granted to Thomas Greene, Gent., Eight acres of Land for sixty and one years at Two shillings and sixpence p. acre, which comes to twenty shill. sterl. p. ann.

Jonathan Balle and Henry Towneley for several Parcels of Lands for sixty and one years at ye yearly rent of . . .

Granted unto John Kelliough, m'cht. one little house for sixty and one years at the yearly rent of four shill. ster.

Roger Hagan for the House he dwelleth in Contracted at two shill. sixpence per annm.

Wm. Laban for five acres of Lands belonging to the Corporac'on at two shill. sixpence pr. acre per ann. in toto . . .

John Brickehill (?) for part of the House wherein John Hanley lives at the rate of two shill. sixpence per annm.

Tobias Skerne nowe John Smart for part of A house and Ground belonging to the Corpora'con at ten shillings p. annm.—Total 35: 00: 00.

(18) At a Gen'all Assembly held and kept the 16th of July, 1664, Henry Towneley and Jonathan Balle Esqrs., Portreeves.

The day and year above sayd it was agreed that the Treasurer for the Town Revenue bee elected at the next Assembly and after such choice made the present

Portreeves are to render an account as the Assembly shall think fitt of such money as they have recd. for the use of this Corpora'con since Michelmas last.

The same day upon the humble request of Arthur Ward, Register, desiring to bee discharg'd of the sayd office. It is agreed and enacted att this assembly that the said Register continue the charge of his office untill the next Assembly and that then To witt the first of Septmbr. next the Assembly take into consideration the choyse of another Register as alsoe of another Recorder if the present Recorder Mr. Burton do not appear then in discharge of the trust reposed in him by the Corpora'con.

(19) At An Assembly, 1664, Henry Towneley.

The same day it was agreed upon voate of the Portreeves and Commons of the Burough aforesayd that Henry Gwither and John Thomas, Burgess, be and are hereby elected to succeed as Portreeves in the said Burough for the year next ensuing to Commence as have been accustomed.

The same day att severall Requests and Petticons of Thomas Cokan, John Pepper, Burgess, and Bartholamewe Doyle, Gent., it is now order'd and concluded that the nowe Portreeves, Burgess's and Commons proceed to the Ellection of a Register or Towne Clerke the next Assembly to serve in the said Burough for the future the Ellection to receive noe further delay.

The same day it is agreed and concluded by genall Assent of this assembly that the nowe Portreeves, Burgesses and Commons proceed without further delay to the choyse of another Recorder the next Assembly day being Michelmas day if the Present Recorder do not then appear in the Burough in discharge of his trust.

The same day it was agreed in gen'all assembly that a Treasurer or Treasurers of the Towne Revenue be chosen at the next assembly to be accomptable from time to time and maner as shall bee then determined.

(20) A Comonn Councill held at Atherdee for and in ——— of the Corporac'on and Members Pollitque of the same the first day of Sept., 1664.

Present :

Henry Townley,	} <i>Portreeves.</i>	Arthur Warde,	} <i>Freemen.</i>
Jonathn Balle,		Thos. Crosbey,	
John Ruxton, senior,	Henry Rogers,		
Wm. Armitage,	Thos. Greene,		
John Thomas	John Tyres,		
Richd. Cooley,	} <i>Burgesses.</i>	Willm. Cartwright,	
Samuel Barks,			

Pursuant to an act of assembly this day conceived by the Portr., Burgesses and Freemen of the Corporac'on aforesaid referring to the Comon councill the considerac'on of such proposalls as shall bee made by the sayd Portreeves agreeable to an Act of Assembly formerly conceav'd in behalf of the sayd Portreeves giving them the preference of interests concealed from and not disposed of by the Corporac'on. It is agreed and concluded upon voate in Comon councill that lands and tenemts following—to witt, one backside in Cappocke Street formerly in possecon of Owen Keewan, one homestead and backside in Cappocke Street aforesaid lately in possecon of Rich. Cusacke, foure acres of lands lately in possecon of John Hardwicke ; a house and three acres of lands in possecon of Robt. Wilkey, two ridges next to the churchyard in Nichollas Howsell's garden with A homestead next to St. John's House, bee offered to the next assembly to the intant that by consent of the next assembly according to the sence of this comittee. A lease under the Corporac'on Seal bee passed to the sayd portreeves of the premisses

for the tearme of Three score and one years, reserving two shill. sixpence per acre.

(21) Resolved . . . to the next assembly for . . . in the possecon of Ralph Hassell and . . . neere the Towne walle in the possecon of Thomas . . . the north streete in Atherdee for the tearme . . . years at the rent of fiftene shill. sterl.

Resolv'd in Comon Councell that John Ruxton, Esqr., be recommended to the next assembly for the Tenancy of A house and Garden which Patr Heeny, butcher, now liveth in together with one Ridge in the said John Ruxton's garden, and two Ridges adjoining the Towne walle within the hide park for sixty and one years at the rent of five shill. sterl.

Resolved in Common Councell that Richd. Cooley, Burgess, be recommended to the next assembly for the tenancy of one acre and three stanges of land now in his posscon leinge near . . . beyond the water for the tearme of sixty and one years at the rent of seaven shill. sterl. yearly.

At a General Assembly held the Twenty-ninth day of September, 1664, in the No. 11th yeare of the raigne of Henry Towneley Jonathan Ball, portreeves of the said Burough.

Memorand that the day and yeare aforesaid [Henry Gwither] and Jno. Thomas Esqrs. by and with the assent of the Portreeves, burgesses and freemen of the said Burough assembled did receave their solemne oath of portreeves of the sayd Burough to serve accordingly in the same for one whole yeare next ensuinge whoe accordingly [assumed] the seate and staffe of office.

(22) . . . Thomas Cockayne, Esqr., by . . . consent of the portreeves above sayd . . . freemen of the sayd Burough upon his peticon . . . Register of the sayd Burough and pursuant thereunto receaved solem'ly the oath of register for the sd Bur.

M^d: that Arthur Ward, Esqr., Councillor at Lawe, was by the assent and consent of the sayd Assembly chosen of Councel with this Corporac'on, he receaveinge by grant and assent of the sayd assembly ten pounds yearly from the Corporac'on.

M^d: that the sayd day and yeare Mr. Jonathan Balle and John Tyres were chosen Treasurers for this Corporac'on and by the assent and consent of this assembly it was order'd that the sayd Treasurers should have as much power for to demand Leavie and gather all and singular the rents due to this Corporac'on in as full and ample maner as theretofore any treasurer or treasurers heretofore have had and that the said treasurers shall and may from tyme to tyme distreine any person or persons their goods or chattles that shall refuse to pay their respective rents due to this Corporac'on, And they are likewise impowered if they find noe sufficient distresse upon the respective premisses to re-enter the same.

M^d: the same day agreed by the assent and consent of the whole assembly that Willm. Armitage, Esq., is appoynted Comptroller to charge the aforesaid Treasurers and for to inspect their accounts.

(23) A General Assembly, Oct. 1664 . . . Portreeves Arth . . .

The day and yeare above written it was agreed by general assent of the whole assembly that the act of Comon Councell for the settinge of concealed lands to the late Portreeves bem into an act of this assembly and soe recorded always, that this act shall not extend to the two Ridges by the Churchyard which is in the poescon of Nichollas Howsell, the said Nichollas is to bee admitted tenant thereunto.

Ordered that William Pepper, Burgesse, bee admitted tenant to what concealement's are in his hands.

Ordered that John Ruxton, Burgesse, bee alsoe admitted to what concealements are in his hands.

The same assembly upon the request and petic'on of Richd. Burgesse ordered that he bee admitted tenant of lands called the three stangs and to take . . . or the grant to be voyd.

The same day ordered that Mr. Arthur Bulkeley . . . to an Acre of Meadowe or thereabouts knowne . . . and to give security to bee A true tenant.

Ordered that John Chambers, Burgesse . . . to an acre of Land, lienge on the East of . . . lands at two shill. sixpence p. ann. . . .

(24) Comon Councell held 21th Day of December, 1664. Present—Henry Gwither, John Thomas, portreeves; Willm. Armitage, Jonathan Balle and Samuell Bancks, Burgesses; Jno. Tyres, Wm. Cartwright and Tobias Skearne, freemen.

The same day it was agreed upon by the above Comon Councell that Samuell Bancks, John Tyres and Tobias Skerne or any two of them be impowered to call all the late portreeves to an account and to drawe up A Charge against them and to receave their Accounts in discharge and to make their report of all their proceedings at the next generall assembly.

A General assembly heald and kept the 21th day of January, 1664, Henry Gwither and John Thomas portreeves, and Arthur Ward Recorder.

The same day it is Enacted by the assent and consent of this Gen'all assembly that Sam'll Baucks, John Tyres and Tobias Sherne are continued Auditors for this Burough and are hereby impowered to call to accompt all person and persons whoe are indebted to this Corporac'on, and in case that any person or persons by them charged shall refuse to come before them to discharge themselves then the sayd Auditors shall make a report to the portreeves and give the Charge against such person or persons in writeinge, then the portreeves shall issue out their warrants for Leaveinge all such sumes ffoorthwith by distresse. And it is further ordered that he Auditors shall call all such persons indebted as aforesayd at or before the . . . instaut January and the sayd Auditor or Auditors neglecting to . . . shall forfeit forty shill.

(25) . . . the sayd Auditors doe meete they are . . . Burgesse to bee then present.

The same day it enacted by the assent and consent of this generall assembly that from hencefoorth the general assemblys for this burough bee kept upon the 16th day of Aprill, the 16th day of July, the 16th day of October, and the 16th day of January unless it fall on A Sunday, and then to bee heald upon the munday following any act to the contrary notwithstanding.

The same day Arthur Ward, Esq., recorder, Jonathan Balle Burgesse and Tobyas Skerne freeman are ellected Comon Councell men and to be added to the former number.

The same day it was putt to the voate whether the Corporac'on out of the Revenue of this Towne shall beare the charges of such person or persons as are indicted by the Earle of Drogheda and it was carried in the affirmative.

The same day it was enacted by gen'all consent that Arthur Ward, Esq., recorder of this Burough shall have ten pounds pp. annum allowed him for his sallery The same day ordered that Thomas Cokayne, Esqre., Towne Clerke, have eight pounds per ann. sallery.

The same day ordered that the sergts. att.mace shall have every year forty shill. apece to buie them cloakes.

The same day it was enacted that the portreeves for the time being and the succceedinge portreeves shall have thirty pounds p. annum for to keepe their table and not to have any other benefit . . . allowance out of the Towne Revenue.

The same day ordered that William Carpan(?) . . . are appointed meerers of the bogge and to receave for paynes and labour as others heretofore have.

. . . the present portreeves shall send . . . for the gathringe of all moneys wch is in arreare . . . payd at the next Comon councill shall order to the Treasurer to pay ould debts thereout accordinge to order from the portreeves.

(To be continued.)



The Poets and Poetry of Kilkerley.

(Continued from page 384, No. 4, Vol. III.)

II.

SÉUMAS DALL MAC CUARTA.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF MACCUARTA.

IN his *Duanaire na Míre*, published last year, Mr. Joseph Lloyd writes on the above subject as follows:—

As the natives of Meath and Ulster, and perhaps also some of those of Connaught have popularly acclaimed Séamus Dall Mhac Cuarta (in English, James Courtney) their chief poet in Leath Chuinn, it behooves one to ascertain what district produced one who received so great an honour. In saying this I do not at all exaggerate, for from my own experience, I know that no other northern bard's compositions have attained such widespread popularity. Indeed, "Dall Mhac Cuarta" or "D' DALL" is quite a name to conjure with when talking to any old seanchaíde in Leath Chuinn—when it is mentioned he at once starts telling anecdotes about him. . . .

No. XXXIV. in this book is MacCuarta's farewell to his native place, which O'Reilly spells "*Criamhthuinn*" and as I shall show, erroneously placed "in Co. Louth." *Créamaom*, Galligan's spelling is clearly the correct form, for the name represents *cré-maom*, 'clay-wealth,' "soil-fertility," 'fertile district.'

Now, where was *Créamaom*? The question, I think, is quite easy to answer. Let us first examine the poet's own internal evidence:—(1) It was in the English provinces (*Cuigibh Sállda*) = Meath; (2) it was in the north (*tiór*); (3) he went southwards (*ruar*) to the Boyne from it; (4) he speaks disparagingly of the Co. Louth people, calling them boors; (5) he dislikes the Boyne and the dwellers in its valley; (6) he states that floods from the Erne reach *Creamhaoin*; (7) he mentions the following local features: *an Cloch nuad, at an uirce fúair, loch na Seá, an Spianán, Alt na nUan* (8) add *Baile Uí Ceallaigh* of the traditional title.

Let us now turn to the Inquisitions. In (7) *Car. I.* we find that "*Christ[opher] nur[er] Baro de Slane*" whose heir was Thomas Plunkett, possessed on December 21st, 1625, the manor of "*Novo-castr' in Crevin*" or "*Newcastle Crevin*" "*at Newston*," viz.: "*Newcastle in Crevin at Newston*." Crevin is the poet's *Créamaom*, Newston is his *an Cloch nuad* = the present Newstone, a townland and castle to the north of Drumcondra, Co. Meath. This agrees perfectly in position. The floods from the

Erne are perhaps an exaggeration, but one of the tributaries of the Erne, viz. the Annagh rises in a district of Farney near Drumconrath. *An Ghrianán* is Greenan and *Dáile Uí Ceallaigh* is Kellystown, both in Drumconrath parish.

The Inquisition shows that Crevin must have been practically identical with the present civil parish of Drumconrath, for only six townlands out of a total of twenty-seven in the parish are not in the list given in the Inquisition.

Dall Mac Cuarta, therefore, was a native of the far north of Lower Meath. All Meathmen should feel proud of that fact.

In an article in "*An Clárdeam Soluip*," July 17th, 1915, Mr. Henry Morris discussing the same subject, writes:—

The greatest of the poets who flourished in this district was Sheumas Mac Cuarta, better known as *An Dáil Mac Cuarta*, because he became blind early in life. All the scribes did him great honour, Gallegan styling him the "Homer of Ireland." His poems have travelled all over Ulster, even to the most western glen in Donegal. Technically he was a Meathman, being born just inside the Meath border where it touches Monaghan and Louth, about half way between Carrickmacross and Drumconrath. Mr. J. H. Lloyd, in a recent publication, has gone to great pains to prove where he was born, and he deserves great credit for his researches. But those of us belonging to the district who take an interest in these matters have long known the place of his birth from strong local tradition, and if Mr. Lloyd ever again revisits Farney, we can show him the bush, or what remains of it, under which he used to sit when composing his poetry, and where he is supposed to have got his inspiration. Mr. Lloyd's researches have confirmed all this by identifying Creamhain from documentary proofs. MacCuarta spent a good deal of his time around Slane, and is buried in Monknewtown churchyard.

Probably both these writers overlooked what Nicholas O'Kearney wrote on the same subject in his large manuscript—at least they made no reference to it. O'Kearney was a native of Thomastown, the townland adjoining Kilkerley, and he compiled this MS. about 1846. In a short introduction to MacCuarta's poem on the MacDermotts of Thomastown, he writes:—

MacCuarta composed another song, *Cúirt na Fete*, to commemorate Kilcurley House, near which he lived until he was seven years of age

* * * * *

In his *Airlings*, too, he refers to a famous mount, *Cnoc Éitce* or *Dhuigean-Cnoc-Éitce*, adjoining the old mansion of Kilcurley, under which the walls of MacCuarta's father's house were shown some years ago. The hill was subsequently called *Cnoc an Shuibair*, it being formerly covered with large pine trees. It was a celebrated fairy residence.

In his valuable book "Irish Writers," compiled towards the end of the eighteenth century, Edmund O'Reilly says:—

James MacCuairt or Courtney, commonly called Dall MacCuairt, was a native of Cramhkhann in the Co. Louth.

Finally we must not overlook the strong tradition among the people of Omeath that the poet was a native of that district—a tradition to which colour is lent by some of MacCuarta's poems. One evening last summer, during a *ceitio* at the house of Hughey MacCourt, away up near the top of Ardagh mountain, the host, who claims a close relationship with, if not direct descent from the poet, delivered himself as follows:—

Ruḡad an Dáil aḡur b'i re 'na comnuide 'ran tig reo b'i fear 'na comnuide i tUtlais a tUgcar an b'odarán Mac Neill air Smaoinis ré. Lá amáin, so gcuirfead ré p'or ar an Dáil. Foiré mar f'aoitfead a t'cus re cuirfead do? b'i f'arúr reif'aire aise, aḡur t'ubairt ré leir "Fad anonn so á'roacáid, cuise an Dáiláin, fa tamailt an Dáiláin, mar talá máit ann cun coirce a glanáid.

Éainic an buacail, agus t'innir re soiré bí ceitpúge (?) air. Bí an Dall 'na fúirde annreo as an teimrú agus bí re as éirteadé leir an sárúr, soiré bí uairé. Cibé ar bí bí 'ra tís ar an iúl leir, arpa'n Dáil. "Tabair dom mo cóta agus mo bata so pacáir an Dallán leir an úreallan eúis an úodaráin fa uéin an úodaráin."

Cá raib re dall nuair a rugad é; rinne ré fuo éisin conpáilte ar na daoine beasá, agus nuair a cáil re an t-amarc, eúis riad an síorfa reo úo .i. ceól a deanaim

(Translation.—*Dall Mhac Cuarta was born and lived in this very house. There was a man living over on Tulach Omeith named An Bodharan MacNeill, i.e., The deaf man MacNeill, and he thought that he would send a message to the Dall. How do you think that he sent the message? He had a servant boy, and he said to the lad "Go over to Ardagh to the Dallan (blind man) for the loan of the dallan (the winnowing fan), for it is a good day to winnow the oats."* The boy came and told what he wanted. The Dall was sitting here at the fire listening to the boy. Whoever was in the room at the time, the Dall said: "Give me my coat and my stick, till Dallan goes with the fool to the Bodharan (deaf man), for the bodharan (another name for a winnowing fan)."

He was not blind when he was born; he did some injury to the little people, and when they took away his sight, they gave him the gift of poetry.)

It is said that seven cities claimed the honour of being Homer's birthplace, and it seems as if Gallegan was correct in more senses than one when he called MacCuarta the "Homer of Ireland." I do not wish to appear intolerant in making a claim about something which, after a lapse of two centuries, cannot now be settled conclusively, but I believe that I can bring forward arguments which, while they may not be final, are sufficient to show that the claims of Kilkerley to the honour of being MacCuarta's birthplace are stronger than those of any of the other places mentioned.

O'Reilly says that MacCuarta was a native of Criamthann in the Co. Louth. As he was almost a contemporary of the poet, his evidence is probably the most reliable. When Mr. Lloyd wishes to make us believe that a man of O'Reilly's scholarship erroneously wrote Criamthann for Créamhainn he is making too great a demand on our credulity, especially when there is plenty of evidence that there was a district called Criamthann. In the ancient writings and annals there is frequent mention of a territory variously called Criomthann, Crimthann, Cremthann, Creamhain and Cribhthann, inhabited by a tribe called the Ui Cremthainn or Ui Criomhthainn. Like the adjacent territories of Magh Breagh, Conaille, Oirghialla, etc., its extent increased or diminished according to the success in battle of its rulers. Ordinarily it included portions of West Louth, North Meath and South Monaghan, but we have evidence that, at one time, it extended into Armagh, Tyrone, and even to the banks of Lough Erne. Neither does the name represent Cré-máoin, 'clay-wealth,' for O'Flaherty tells us that the Ui Criomhthann were the descendants of Creamhthann, son of Fiach, son of Deaghaidh, grandson of Colla da Crioch—(Ogygia, part III., chap. 76). Keating says that the territory itself was taken from the Ulidians by the Three Collas after the battle of Achadh Leith Deirg. The Book of Leinster (333b) tells us that the Ui Crimthannan, the Airtheara and the Ui Meith are descended from Colla da Croich. It also says (332) that the Ulidians passed through this territory in their flight from Carnn Achaid Leith Deirg to Glenn Righe,¹ and elsewhere (173a) tells us that it was in Oirghialla. The Book of Rights, in enumerating the peoples of Oirghialla, speaks of the *thi Créamthainn*, the descendants of "handsome Creamhthainn." In the Vision of Mac Conglinne, Creamhthainne is described as between Magh Muirtheimhne and Crioch Rois.² The Book of Ba'lymote (142a) says that it is near the river Conchobar in Crioch Rois, and elsewhere it speaks of "the two Criomthann." MacFirbis groups together the following territories:—Tuath Conraighe, Mughdorna Hui Segain, Fer Rois, Feara Luirg an

the two Creamhain. Evidently Tuath Conraighe (Drumcondrath) and Creamhain were, at that time, exclusive of each other. The Book of Lecan mentions the Ui Cremthainn Mughdorna near Armagh. The territory is several times referred to in the Trias Thaumaturga—e.g., at page 184 we have the quotation “*Regiuncula australis Oirgiellae nunc ad baroniam Slane spectans, vulgo Crimthainne dicta*, i.e., ‘The small territory of Southern Oirghialla, now looking towards the barony of Slane, and popularly known as Crimthainn.’” ‘Spectare,’ used similarly by Cæsar and Livy means “to look towards,” “to be situate in the direction of,” but it does not imply ‘inclusion in’ nor even “bordering on”—e.g., *Collis ad orientem solem spectabat* (Cæsar B.G. VII. 69); *spectare in Etruriam* (Livy). The Four Masters and the Annals of Ulster make frequent reference to this territory—e.g. F.M. II. 886, 912, 818, A.U. I. 272, 308, 816; II. 102. In the Annals of Ulster we are told that when Lough Erne was frozen over, large loads of wood were brought from Connaught to Ui Cremthainn to build an oratory. References such as these could be multiplied indefinitely, but the others are mere repetitions of those already given. This, therefore, was the territory in which, according to O'Reilly, MacCuarta was born, the territory to which MacCuarta addressed his farewell poem *ἡς Criumthainn p̄ior atá mo mian*. It included Drumconrath of Mr. Lloyd's claim, Kilkerry of Nicholas O'Kearney's claim and possibly a portion of Farney. Mr. Lloyd was correct when he proved that Drumconrath was anciently called Creamhain, but he had only a portion of the truth. Kilkerry was certainly in the territory for it is adjacent to Armagh; it is between Magh Muirtheimhne and Crioch Rois, and it is between Carn Achaidh Leith Deirg and Glenn Righ. The limits of the ancient Irish territories, especially of those in which Co. Louth shared, have become obscured since the loss of the Irish language; but in MacCuarta's time, over two centuries ago, the knowledge of such matters still prevailed, especially among the poets, and MacCuarta must have been aware, not only of the ancient name of the territory in which he lived, but also of its ancient limits. The poem was evidently addressed, not merely to the townland or parish of his birth, but to the whole *ἡς Criumthainn*, including Newstone in Drumconrath, or perhaps Newstone in Louth parish, Ballykelly near Channonrock, at whose cross-roads, when on his way to the Boyne Valley, he probably turned to take a last look at the beloved mountains of his native Criumthain, and even to that portion of the ancient territory which extended away to the banks of Lough Erne.

According to O'Reilly, he was born in this territory, and in the Co. Louth portion of it too. O'Kearney agrees with this when he tells us that the poet was born at Kilkerry. Mr. Lloyd, indeed, makes the charge that “O'Kearney had a great love of meddling with his originals in order to make them square with his own (often erroneous) ideas of what was right.” Even if this charge were true, and even if, for the moment, we abstract from the fact that O'Kearney and O'Reilly are in agreement upon this question, still, in order to set aside O'Kearney's testimony, positive evidence against it must be produced. And, as we shall frequently show, no such positive testimony is forthcoming. In this case it is not a question of “meddling with originals in order to make them square with preconceived ideas.” O'Kearney was a native of the same townland. In his youth he must have known contemporaries of MacCuarta, and therefore, if he has given false testimony, he has done so with full knowledge. But even Mr. Lloyd, prejudiced though he seems to be against O'Kearney, has never gone so far as to accuse him of a wilful lie.

That the territory of Creevin, even in MacCuarta's time, extended further north than Kilkerry can easily be proved from another of his poems—*ἡς Criumthainn at Criumthainn*. The text of the poem will be found further on in this article. It is a lament for a person named Bartley Woods, who was a native of the town of

Louth (ὀζαναῖς ο λύς), who had relations at Killencoole and was buried in Killanny. We are told also that during his lifetime, he had been beloved by all the young ladies of the district, from Creamhuin to the Boyne—

Δῖπυρ ὀζῆννα να κρῖς ἀς εἰσαοῖν τὰ οἶτ
Ὁ Ὀρέαμυιν σο βρῦαδ Ὀδῖννε.

Evidently MacCuarta thought that Creamhuin was to the north of the district extending from Killencoole, through Louth to Killanny. Kilkerley is north of this district, but Drumconrath is south of it, and if we were to adopt Mr. Lloyd's suggestion, the two lines quoted above would have no meaning.

Again, in the poem Ἀν λυννριγεαδ στὰταμυιλ, we have clear evidence that MacCuarta regarded Louth as his own county, especially in the lines

Σὲ μο λέυν ῥέπυρ ἱρ μ' ἀμῖαν ῥαν ἔριε ἔαρτ σο ἠιομλάν
ἀς ῥελλεαδ τὸ'ν λυννριγεαδ μαρ ῥτάτα
'S τὰ μβέαδ, ἠιορ β'εαῖα ἠιομ ἀ βέιτ ἡγεῖθῖονν ῥαοί ἀηρο
Ὀέινν 'μο τῖγεαῖνα ῥαν μῦιλ ἀηρ ἀν αἷτ ῥο
ῥεοβῖνν λείῖρε ἱρ ῥότ ῥεαῖδα ἀρ να μῖλτε ἀρῖα τὰλαῖο
Ὁ ῥεῖθτε Ὀυνθεαῖσαν σο Καῖαρ-λινν
'S ἀς Ὀροῖτῖεαδ ἀ ὀοῖρ ῥαῖρε αεατ μεαταῖρ ῖ ῥεαῖα
ῖ ἀεθεαῖ ἀρ ὀοῖλτε βρῖεαῖ ῥάρυτ.

Kilkerley's claim also receives support from internal evidence in some of the poems. The first line of one is:—

ῤαῖῥαῖο με σο Ὀρῦμ-βῖτε 'ῖ βέιτ ὀονν βεαῖ εἰμ ὀῖλ ἀῖαν.

Drumbilla is directly north of Kilkerley, and just three miles away. Some lines in Ὀῖρτ να ῥέιτε also support this claim—e.g., 'S σο βρῖαα τῖ με 'ῖ ἀν αοῖρ ῥαν ὀέιλ ἀρ ἔαοδ τὸ ῥαῖτε. This line taken with its context shows that MacCuarta left his native place soon after he came to the use of reason. In the same poem we have the line:

Ὀο τῖγοῖρ κέῖρ ο ἔῖρ να ὀέιτε ἀ λείγεαδ να ῥαίρε.

I shall show, further on, that Kilkerley was regarded as a "harbour of refugees" by the persecuted clerics during the penal days. In the poem on the MacDermotts of Thomastown, he writes as if each member of that family had been his own close friend, and he also shows an intimate acquaintance with even the physical features of the district, as in the lines³:

Σο ὀτῖγεαδ ἀν λῖ ἀ μβέιτ βῖρα 'ῖ ἀῖρθε
ἀρ ῥεῖνν κέῖρρεαδ ῥα Ὀοῖνναδ-μῖρ
ἀς εἰρ ῥεαῖα ῥαῖτε ῥοῖν μο ῥαῖρε
ἀ'ῖ ῥῖον ὀ ῤῖεῖννε 'ῖα ῥῖαβαδ ἀ'ῖ βεοῖν.

Donaghmore Hill, near the MacDermott residence, is a place most suitable for such a display. The fort, Ὀνοῖ ἀν ῥῖαβῖρ, beside which, according to O'Kearney, stood the poet's house, in in the lane leading up to Kilkerley House from the chapel road. An old woman told me that she would not pass Ὀνοῖ ἀν ῥῖαβῖρ at night for a thousand pounds. A few of the pine trees still remain. MacCuarta's cottage has disappeared, but its site can still be traced between the rath and the gate. In Kilkerley and in the adjacent townlands the names Courtney, MacCourt and MacCarte are still very common. If the Parish Records had extended back another half century, we probably could have definitely settled the question of MacCuarta's birth place, but unfortunately the existing records were begun only about the middle of the eighteenth century. They show, however, that even at that time the name was prevalent in Kilkerley. In January, 1754, Thomas Foster married

Mary Courtney. In 1759 Hugh Courtney was sponsor at a baptism and 1761 Cormac Courtney acted in the same capacity. James Courtney was married to Brigid Kelledy in April, 1769; they had six children—Bernard, Mary, Brigid, Art, Anne and Rose. In 1796 Brigid MacCourt, alias Kelledy, was buried in Milltown cemetery.

With regard to the 'internal evidence' by which Mr. Lloyd tries to bolster up the claims of Drumconrath, there is not an argument in the list which could not be adduced with equal, if not with greater force, in favour of Kilkerley:—

1. It was in the English province (Co. Louth).
2. It is in the north—even further north than Drumconrath.
3. You can go southwards to the Boyne from it.
4. He speaks disparagingly of the Co. Louth people, calling them boors. This charge is based on verse IV:—

17 10m0a Búir 1 5Connrae lu5bair nac fearann clú do céile
 A dhru0eas a rúile 5o daingion olú0 nuair a éireas riad éuca mo leir0-re
 Ní mar rúo a cleas0ad 0amra nuair a bi me 1 noutais éream0oin
 Aet ól 5an 0iú0ad ar hallais cúnra 7 clárrac éuin ar éas0ais.

It seems more probable here that the poet is merely making a comparison between the natives of Creamhainn and those of the other parts of Louth. It is as if a person were to say "There are many in Ireland who have no love for the Irish language, but Louthmen are not such as these." From a statement of this kind no one would draw the conclusion that Co. Louth is not in Ireland, and in the same way the "boors of Louth" would be blamed for not appreciating a poet from their own county rather than for closing their eyes to the merits of a Meathman.

5. He dislikes the Boyne and the dwellers in its valley. As a rule there is a common feeling between South Louth and Meath, but great jealousy between North and South Louth. Generally speaking, the people of North Louth are predominantly Celtic, while those of South Louth and Meath trace back to the Pale.

6. MacCuarta states that the floods from the Erne reach Creamhthainn:

7a 7ear 0'n ngréin, tuitte o n éirné 7 bpeic ar leim a rúam.

Mr. Lloyd makes a very poor attempt to explain this statement, which cannot apply to either Drumconrath or Kilkerley. It can apply only to the ancient territory of Criamhthainn, which according to the statement in the Annals of Ulster did actually border on Lough Erne.

7. He mentions the following local features:—An éloé nuas, aet an uirge fuair, loé na séas, an 5rianán. aet-na nuas, along with Daite n1 éeallais of the traditional title. Of the six, Mr. Lloyd identifies only three in Drumconrath. I could show names similar to every one of them in the vicinity of Kilkerley, but lists of simple place-names, such as that given above, can be used to prove anything.⁴

We could, however, admit that Creevin, mentioned in the poem, is identical with the present civil parish of Drumconrath, and still deny that "Dall MacCuarta was a native of the far north of Lower Meath." Mr. Lloyd's whole argument rests on the assumption that 0ú0ais means a 'birth-place.' This assumption is without any foundation and might easily be disproved from the line—

Céas ríán 0on uair ar 5nac mo éuairt faoi aetáin uaisneac' éream0oin.

where he speaks of his 'visit' to the 'lonely heights of Creevin.' Mr. Lloyd further assumes that the title given by Gallegan is genuine. It is a notorious fact that Gallegan had a love of tampering not only with the titles, but also with the names

of the authors of poems, in order to make everything refer to the Co. Meath. The title given by O'Reilly—*ḡCruamhán ríor atá mo mian* is much more likely to be the correct one. Even the word *Creamhain* itself is not certain—there are the variant readings *Creamhain*, *Cruamhán* and *Créciunn*.⁵ This last reading, if correct, would give a new meaning to the whole poem.

Mr Morris relies on a strong local tradition to prove that MacCuarda, although technically a Meathman, really belonged to Farney. In this case tradition is scarcely a sufficient criterion of truth. In Mullabawn the tradition favours Kilkenny, while the Omeath tradition has all the marks of being genuine. It is evident that MacCuarda, though blind, was a wild rover; from his poems we find that he was at home in North Meath, South Armagh, North-west Louth, Omeath, and to some extent in Farney; and, as he must have remained for some time in each of these places, it is easy to see how the various traditions had their origin. Something more than mere tradition is therefore necessary, and, in the case of Kilkenny, we have the evidence of O'Kearney and O'Reilly.

The Omeath tradition is more difficult to deal with. There in a district which for more than a century has been isolated from the other Irish-speaking territories, and which still retains its language and traditions, every native speaker between Carlingford and Fathom will tell you that *An Dáil Mac Cuarda* was a native of Ardagh. The *Clann Mhic Cuarda* are there too, claiming relationship with the poet. In Corrakit there is a rock called *Cnoc a' Dáil* where he was accustomed to sit while he composed his poetry. Two of his longest poems, *Ar mo tuar go tulaig O Méit* and *A tulaig uí Méit, cairé an ghuaim reo ort*, have reference to the townland of Tullagh Omeath. The last mentioned poem was an elegy on *Seádan (An Bóthán) na Néill*.⁶ Concerning the friendship between these two poets, one manuscript written about a century ago says:—

MacCuarda and The Buaran were on terms of the greatest intimacy, and often would the blind bard resort to the hospitable dwelling of his brother bard to shoot volleys of witty invectives at him and to sustain, in turn, a severe repartee from his able opponent. MacCuarda once visited the house while the Buaran was on a neighbouring hill with his workmen winnowing corn. MacCuarda sent him the following message by a servant maid. Imeis amac asur leir leat an Buaran cuşam. To which the other replied ní féidir an Buarán a cur isteach go beirtear an dáilán amac.

There was also a long poem concerning the families who lived in Omeath about a hundred years ago. A few snatches of it are still remembered by the centenarians of the district. The portion referring to the MacCourts of Ardagh is as follows:

*Ói tpeab an Dáil Mhic Cuarda, 'sa rab an cruabailcear ariam 'na nórán
mar rít a fuil 'na gcuirlib 7 ba dual daobtha beir a teannasó parr
asur bí oír de Cloinn Mhic Cuarda a baineasó fuaim leir na bátaí coll*

TRANSLATION.

*These were the tribe of An Dáil Mhic Cuarda, whose pleasure was in their drinking;
His blood ran in their veins, and it was kind father for them to make poetry.
And there were two of the same family who could make play with their hazel sticks.*

Line 1. *tpeab*, family; *cruabailcear*, happiness; *orán*, drink of spirits.

„ 2. Variant *mar bí o' a fuil*, etc.; *na gcuirlib*, variant *féir a gcuirle*.

„ 3. Variant *bí re de n tpeib an uair rin*, etc.; *oír*, two persons or possibly a scion of the family.

In one way only can the claims of Omeath and Kilkenny be reconciled. Hughey MacCourt of Ardagh, the present head of that branch of the family, says that six generations of the MacCourts have lived in Omeath, and that they came from the

neighbourhood of Dundalk. Many of the Omeath families as the Sloans, Murphys, Connollys and Rices, have the same tradition, that six generations back their ancestors came across the mountain from some place in the vicinity of Faughart. These migrations undoubtedly were the results of the Williamite confiscations of 1702 and 1703 in which North Louth suffered very severely. Now, O'Kearney tells us, that when the poet was seven years of age his family left Kilkerley. The Williamite confiscations must have taken place while the poet was still a boy, and if our hypothesis is correct, it not only reconciles the claims of Omeath and Kilkerley, but it also proves that the date of the poet's birth was 1695 or 1696.

THE MACDERMOTTS OF THOMASTOWN HOUSE.

The following preface to the poem on the MacDermotts of Kilkerley and Thomastown is found in O'Kearney's large manuscript:—

"The following poem was composed by Dall MacCuarta for the four sons of Clement MacDermott Esq., of Kilcurley and afterwards of Thomastown House,⁷ near Dundalk, in the Co. Louth. Three of the young gentlemen were in the service of France, and John, the youngest, was a Colonel. Mac Cuarta composed another song, Cuir na Féile, to commemorate Kilcurley House,⁸ near which he lived until he was seven years of age. The penal laws forced MacDermott to hand over the property to a Cromwellian family named Smith, and retire to Thomastown, where he built a family mansion, about a mile to the east called Thomastown House. Here they lived in great splendour and became the chief Catholic family in the county. Anthony MacDermott was one of the Catholics who signed a petition to George III for the redress of Catholic grievances. The writer of these notes was reared in that house, but it is now (1846) in ruins. On one occasion there were present in the house twenty-four officers of the MacDermott family, all in foreign service, who danced in the parlour to a patriotic air struck up by the family harper

MacCuarta, in his Διῆμις, refers to a famous mount, Κνός Εἰττε or Όρμίσαν-Κνός Εἰττε,⁹ a hill adjoining the old mansion of Kilcurley, under which the walls of MacCuarta's father's home were shown. It was subsequently called Κνός αν Σῑυδαῖρ, it being formerly covered with large old pine trees. It was a celebrated fairy residence.

Clement MacDermott's grand-daughter, Margaret Byrne, was mother of Right Rev. Dr. Bellew, Bishop of Killala."

In the poem itself the names of the four sons of Clement are given—Robert, Brian, Eamonn and John. Evidently Eamonn was a naval officer, while the others were army officers.

In the Parliament of James II, held in Dublin in 1689, I find that the representatives from Dundalk were Robert MacDermott and John Dowdall, and those from Carlingford were Christopher Peppard and Bryan MacDermott. O'Harte copied from some French manuscripts in the R.I.A. a list of Irishmen who served in the Irish Brigades in foreign armies. The list seems to be incomplete before 1750, but fairly complete after that time. The following are the MacDermotts mentioned in the lists:—

SPAIN

Bernard (probably Brian) MacDermott, Super-captain	..	..	1715
Thomas MacDermott, Sub-lieutenant,	..	..	715

FRANCE.

—— MacDermott (Cavalerie de FitzJames), Aide-major,	..	..	1703
—— MacDermott (Galway's Regiment), Capitaine,	..	..	1713
Pierre MacDermott, Chevalier de St. Louis, Cadet in 1739, Major in	..	..	1771
Dudly MacDermott (Rothe's Regiment), Officer,	..	..	1752

Patrick MacDermott (Walsh's Regiment), Cadet 1751, Captain ..	1770
Michael MacDermott, Chevalier de St. Louis (Dillon's Regt.), Cadet 1753, Cap. 1779	
Thos. MacDermott (Dillon's Regt.), Cadet 1756; Quartermaster '63-6; Cap. '77-'89	
Bernard MacDermott (FitzJames's Regt.), Cadet 1759, Chef de Bataillon	1793
Francis MacDermott (Walsh's Regt.), Cadet 1781, Captain ..	1791
Bernard MacDermott (Walsh's Regt.), Sous-lieut 1789; Capt. 1792; killed	1793
John MacDermott (Dillon's Regt.), Sous-lieut. 1791; Capt. Adjutant Major 1792,	
Lieut.-Colonel of Berwick's Regiment	1793
Lou's MacDermott, Captain Adjutant Major	1815-1819

Some of the officers mentioned in these lists were probably among the twenty-four of whom O'Kearney speaks.

I have not been able to ascertain either the time or the cause of the migration of this branch of the MacDermott family from Connaught to Louth. The name is not mentioned in the Table of Forfeiting Proprietors (1657), where thirty-five confiscations from the Barony of Dundalk are listed. Previous to that time Kilkerley and Donaghmore had been in possession of Sir Richard Bellew, and Thomastown of Alexandre Mapas. In 1657 Sir Christopher Bellew's property was granted to Sir John Bellew, and Mapas to the Duke of York by the Act of Settlement following on the Cromwellian Confiscation. In the corresponding list for County Co. Monaghan the name of Laughlin MacDermott is given as one of the forfeiting proprietors from the Barony of Dartry. Nor is there any mention of the name in the Census Returns from the Barony of Dundalk (1660), although, at that time, there were six persons of the name in the Barony of Ardee. In the list of Co. Louth Brewers (1683, *L.A.J.*, 1912), a list which, I think, contains the names of those who were allowed to brew for their own use, the name of the Widow Dermott is given under Castletown, which was then the nearest town to Kilkerley. Evidently the family had come between 1660 and 1683. The ousting of Clement MacDermott from Kilkerley must have taken place under the Williamite Confiscations; the same Confiscations that drove the MacCourts from their home. In the list of these Confiscations in the Barony of Dundalk the name of Terence (?) MacDermott is given, and several people named Smith are amongst the grantees in the same barony. Dr. Bellew, to whom O'Kearney makes reference, was appointed Bishop of Killala in 1773. A poem written on the occasion by Art MacCooey will be found further on in this article. The following entries from the Liber Defunctorum concern this family:—

1759, Nov. Anna Bellew, alias MacDermott, buried at Castletown.

June 1765. Dominick MacDermott, of Thomastown, buried in Seatown. Offering, £1 2s. 9d.

June, 1775. Frank MacDermott, of Thomastown, buried at Seatown. Offering £1 2s. 9d.

March, 1787. Mrs. MacDermott, of Thomastown House, interred at Seatown. Offering £1 2s. 9d.

October, 1796. Anthony MacDermott, of Thomastown, interred at Seatown.

There are many other entries concerning people of this name, but as there were other MacDermott¹⁰ families in the parish, and as the townland is not always given, it is not always possible to decide. The same difficulty is experienced in dealing with the Baptismal and Marriage Records in which the townland of residence is rarely given. In the following entries, however, there can be no doubt concerning the families of those mentioned:—

1753, October 20th—Baptism of Francis Bellew, son of Matthew Bellew and Anna MacDermott; sponsors, Francis and Mary MacDermott.

1760, Jan. 29—Francis MacDermott of Thomastown was sponsor for Margaret Callan.

1772, March 1—Patrick MacShein, of Owen and Rose MacDermott ; sponsors, Brian and Mary MacDermott of Thomastown.

1778, Oct. 22—Judith MacDermott, of William and Mary Callan.

1803, March 19—Marriage of Michael MacDermott and Elizabeth Callan.

1809, March 25—John, son of Michael MacDermott and Elizabeth Callan ; sponsors, Jas. MacDermott and Henry Murphy.

1815, July 28—Mary, d. of Anthony MacDermott and Mary Kelly ; sponsors, Thomas and Margt. MacDermott.

A solid silver chalice at present in use in Kilkerley chapel bears the following inscription :—" Presented by Mrs. MacDermott to the Parish of Kilkerley, 1798. Your prayers are requested for the soul of the late Anthony MacDermott."

(SYNOPSIS.—*There are four heroes of the warrior race—Brian, Robert, Eamonn and John. They are the four sons of the learned Clement, who, disdaining to remain under the unceasing chastisement of cruel laws, have gained for themselves fame in foreign lands. Friars and white-robed nuns are continually praying that with large forces they may soon return to free their native land.*

These mighty heroes of the Milesian race are at the head of regiments composed of the fearless veterans who bore the brunt of our Irish wars. Brian, "The Mauler," refusing the Saxon bribes, took his whole company with him across the ocean. Captain Eamonn, whose beauty makes him the cynosure of female eyes, is upholding the reputation that he had so deservedly gained on Leinster battlefields. In his well-equipped fleet, hundreds obey his orders. My handsome hero, fair skinned Robert of the ringletted locks, who ever refused to bend his knee to the Saxon, is gaining fame on foreign fields. May the day soon come, when with banners floating and harpers playing, with well-filled casks of wine and Spanish beer, we may celebrate his return. The accomplished horseman, John the hospitable, is Colonel of the King's Guard, and his manly breast is covered with the distinctions that he gained in battle. When the day of our redemption comes, these four heroes will be at the head of their troops, revenging our wrongs on the Saxon.)

Ατά σεάταρ ηύεταδ δε ρσοιτ να οτρευνφεαρ
 Συο υριαν αν σεαο-φεαρ δε'ν αιμε, αν λεομαν,
 Αρ Ροιβεαρτ ρειμεαμυιλ αρ γεαλλαο αν ρειν το
 λε τοιλ ιλιε Οε nac μβιθεανν αρ εαρραις οη.
 Αν Καρτιν'εαομοντο α ελεαετ να ρευσαιν
 'S ρυαιρ ραβραο λειγινν ορ ειονν ζαιρσιο αν τρλοισ
 'Οα οτεαζαο αν μειρ ριν α εορναο ζαεοαταετ'
 θυο ταρ τρετεεαδ να 'ναιце σεον.

Τα σεάταρ ος-μαε ας Clement εοτμαρ
 ας νεαρτυζαο ερφοαετ' α ναιце 'n ρις
 Παρ ραν ραοι ροιρνεαρτ α οταλαμ ροβλα
 Τα ραοι ρμαετ ζαν ροκαμάλ σο ηατιυρρεαδ
 Ιρ ιομθα ορτο ιρ βεαν ραοι ρρολ
 Ατά ας ζυιρε λεο τεαετ αριρ
 λε νεαρτ να ρλοιστε 'ρ ζαε φεαρ να εοιρνεαλ
 εum αν βαιτε βοενα α ελεαετ να λαοε.

I, 1. εαεταδ, brave warrior, *gpl.* after σεάταρ; ρσοιτ, *d.s.* ρσοε, branch of a family. 2. αιμε, race or tribe; λεομαν, hero, warrior. 3. ρειμεαμυιλ, powerful, famous. 4. εαρραις = εαρβαιο, want, need. 5. ελεαετ, protected. 6. ραβραο, sport, here probably the same as μεαμ-ραο, preface, beginning. 7. 'Οα οτεαζαο, *impft. md.*; εορναο v.l. of εορναμ, protect; ζαεοαταετ, the native race.

II, 1. εοτμαρ, learned. 2. νεαρτυζαο, strengthening, confirming. 3. ροιρνεαρτ, oppression. 4. ραοι ρμαετ, under chastisement; ζαν ροκαμάλ, without rest; σο ηατιυρρεαδ, wearily, sorrowfully; ορτο, friar, religious; βεαν ραοι ρρολ, nun. 6. ας ζυιρε λεο, praying for them. 7. Each of them leading mighty hosts. 8. εum αν βαιτε βοενα, to his sea-girt home.

Táir na cupairde buaó neartmáir na gcinn ar rluaisctib
 De'n aicme éruaó-méarta míliú 'n áis
 De'n cineaí uáctaraó a gnaíó beir bpaóac
 A gcaóaió éruaóilann a gcruócaíó fáil
 Bpian an bpaóac mac Clement uairil
 Naó nsaóabó buair uao luét ceapaó gaeóeal
 Aét éus a ruais uainn roir, mo éruaisé !
 'Sgan don 'na éuainne do beir na óiais.

An Cairtín Éuómonó a rgaabó reuó
 A scoise laisean mar buó óual óa gaoí :
 An reabac reuómac a éuao ar éirinn
 As aróúgaó céuma gan ceapnaó baógaí.
 Ta loingear gléurta paóí bpaóacaíó óaora
 Ar ogaín éreuna as úmluáó óó
 Ar caógaó rreírbean a glacaó a raéoin é
 Seac gac rreínfeap air éalam beo

Mo Roibeart bán óear na gcuacánn paingeaó
 An coisfeap álunn ruó buaó gac réim
 An cupairó ágaíuill nar érom óó'n gailtaét
 Aét gluaíó air páile as áruugaó céim.
 Go óciseaó an lá rin a mbéó bapa 'náiróe
 Ar reinn cláirpeac pa' Óomnaó Mór
 A cup reapa páilte roim mo páirte
 Ar ríon na Spáinne 'ga rgaabó 'r beoir !

Tá'n marpac reuómeap rin Seon na féile
 'Na Coirnéal éuétac le taob an ríó
 Tá iomaó reuó air a bpaóllac glégaal
 Noó óó tuill a éireaét ir é a scoisepió
 Ma'r óual aen párepaó o glapaíó óaora
 Óó'n cineaí gaeóalac pa ó'eoió arir
 Beir an ceataraíó rreun-cupairde, clann Clement beirginn
 As gabaíó géille uao gailaíó 'rtir.

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- III, 1. cupairó buaó-neartmáir, heroes of overwhelming bravery; na gcinn ar rluaisctib, at the head of company. 2. Of the tribe of Milesius, 'of the Destiny,' famous for its firmness. 3. cineaí uáctaraó, etc., "from the conquering class which was accustomed to be merciless in their hard-fought battles in Ireland." 5. an bpaóac, the Mauler (in battle). 6. hsaóabó = hgeóabó; buair, bribe; luét, e.g., the oppressors of the Gael. 7. ruais, flight; cuainne, company, tribe.
- IV, 1. rgaabó *fr.* rcpaíam. 2. as would befit one of his race. 3. reuómac, energetic. 4. gan ceapnaó baógaí, without fear of danger. 5. loingear, fleet; gléurta, etc., decked with costly flags; ogaín, youth; úmluáó óó, attending on him. 7, 8. and fifty fair maids to take him as their choice in preference to all loving men.
- V, 1. na gcuacánn paingeaó, of the ringletted locks. 3. nar érom óó n gailtaét, who did not yield to Anglicising influences; as áruugaó céim, gaining fame. 5. bapa, palms of the hands, flags. 7. reapa páilte, pouring out of welcomes.
- VI, 1. reuómeap, pertaining to steeds; réuó, jewels, medals; glégaal, white, shining. 4. That his bravery won since he went to foreign lands; coisepió, foreign land; óual, fated, destined; párepaó, rest, cessation; o glapaíó óaora from oppressive bonds; beirginn witty, sweet-mouthed.

CÚIRT NA Féile.

According to O'Kearney the following poem was composed by MacCuarta concerning Kilkerry House, near which he was born and lived until he was seven years of age. Galligan, however gives as a sub-title—ΔΣΑΛΛΑΘ Σεύμαιρ μίη Cuarda le Cúirt Bait' Sláinge (Dialogue between James MacCuarta and Slane Court). The second line of the poem—'S go b'faca tu meri, in daoir san céill air éadob do páille (Since you saw me, before I had come to the use of reason, on the side of your battlement) shows that O'Kearney is probably correct, for even if we suppose that MacCuarta was born at Drumconrath, Slane was still fifteen miles away, and he could scarcely have played on the side of its battlements. The claims of Kilkerry House are also strengthened by line 10:—'Do éisioir cléirí ó tír na céite a teigead na páire. The Primate, Oliver Plunkett, wrote that during one of the persecutions he had a safe retreat at Kilkerry, and we have seen that, in later times, the Primate, Michael O'Reilly, and a large number of his priests were arrested at Kilkerry and lodged in Dundalk Gaol. The whole poem is based on the fact that when MacCuarta was a child, the Court had belonged to an Irish Catholic, but that on his return he found it in possession of an English Protestant. I cannot say if such a change took place in the ownership of Slane Castle, but there is plenty of evidence that it happened in the case of Kilkerry Court. In the poem the poet assumes that the Court, inasmuch as it harboured the intruders, must have gone over to their side. He laments its failure to show hospitality to bards, poets and harpers and the absence of the Catholic rites which had formerly been performed within its walls.

(SYNOPSIS.—The poet, on his return, upraids the Castle, which had known him when he was a child, for the coldness of its welcome. The Castle at first pretends not to understand Irish, but soon drops into the ancient tongue. It announces that it no longer believes in patronizing poets and harpers, and that the singing of the Passion, which formerly in the presence of the clergy had taken place within its walls is a foolish practice. The poet takes issue with it on these points, and quotes Scripture in favour of his contention. He then bewails the fate of the Gael, poor, oppressed and starving; and the Castle, in reply, extols the ruthlessness of its new masters. The poet, however, sounds a note of hope, and, in spite of the taunts of the Castle, he compares the Irish race to the Egyptians under Pharaoh, and expresses his faith in their final deliverance and triumph.)

MAC CUARTA

Ceirt agham ort, a Cúirt na Féile, cáir shab m'féilte?
'S go b'faca tu meri a naoir san céill air éadob do páille.

CUIRT.

What is that you say, air an rtaeoir, no fode fáit u'áobair?
I cannot understand your Gaelic, aghur labair liom go shléta.

MAC CUARTA.

Níl ac meri ta fíafraib r'éil do u'áeson bádbuin^{10a}
Cá n'eadair na fíanaib, a béir doo' fíar, na meadair, na cláiraid'.

CUIRT.

Ir gnomh san céill do gnióirí ríib, fadail, uib féin 'ra trát rin
A beir p'ionnaob buir scior air éadoin na uéu 7 do r'p'íreab air luét
[uántaid.

1. Cúirt na Féile, Court of Hospitality; cáir shab m'féilte? Where is my welcome gone?
2. a naoir san céill, before I came to the use of reason; páille, battlement. 4. labair liom go shléta, speak in English. 5. bádbuin = bádbúin, bulwark. 6. Whence have departed the champions who formerly guarded you and the mirth of the harpers; fíanaib = fíannaid; doo' fíar, attending you. 8. p'ionnaob bestowing; r'p'íreab, scattering; luét uántaid, poets; fíóiréad, harmony, composition.

Mac Cuarta.

Sió naé fíuḡ píḡinn leat caoin na tóeúo na píeóteac óántaio
Do éisioir cléir o éir na céile a leigead na páire.

Cuir.

ḡníom eile ḡan céill b'éio máoiḡead bui ḡcléir ari leigead na páire
buó binne l.om "prayers" óa míniugad a m'beurla a'r díobla ḡallta.

Mac Cuarta.

Ir ionḡnam rin 'r ḡurab íao ár ḡcléir inne, a ḡeillior do'n b'pápa
'S ḡo tciub'ad ríao b'páḡ ar píantao óaoia a léim ḡo p'ar'etar.

Cuir.

ḡoné'n ḡcrioptúir ann ar léiḡ tupa a léitio rin a píó'muill
Ná cá huair a t'us C'píoró cúmacta do bui ḡcléir a b'éit méuouḡad ḡpára?

Mac Cuarta.

Annra cuigead caibíoeal aḡ náom Séan, ma léiḡ tú ḡan áit rin¹⁰
ḡeobad tú an rḡpíobta, ḡur'oe na cléir aḡur óia píom'e an mbár ann.

Cuir.

Ca p'ior tuitre rin 'r naé b'fuit aḡao léir ari leigíonn na ari átar'ad
'S ḡo mbíoeann tu ḡo cinn'te aḡ inn'píḡ b'péaḡ 'r ḡo néir'oeann cac leat.

Mac Cuarta.

Sió naé léur nam líne a léiḡead a m'bíobla ḡallta
Cuirsim an ḡáoḡailḡe a'r ḡur'oe na cléir 'r do ḡníóim ḡnátar oe

Cuir.

Ann uair naé ḡc'píor'píó tú píóir na b'péus uaim, bí mar tá tú
No téiḡ mur a b'fuit ḡáoḡail an loctair é píonn ḡ pán 'oo rḡlábuiḡe.

Mac Cuarta.

Siḡre, ari éisim an píóir rin a b'earla a t'páḡ ḡáoḡail 'na r'elábuiḡe
a ḡc'píor, a r'p'ré, a maoin pa néaoail, ḡur lib're a tábaet.

Cuir.

le paobar cloim'te, le ḡéar lannaib ḡ le neapc láma
Do baínea'muio cíor a'r maoin do ḡáoḡalaib ḡ ḡeill'ear no ḡalltaet.

10. do éisioir, *imperfect indicative*: a leigead na páire, reading the Passion.
11. máoiḡead, abetting. 12. "Sweeter to my ear are the smoothly-composed English prayers from the Protestant Bible." 13. a ḡeillior, who obey. 14. b'páḡ, captivity.
15. píó'muill, raving. 16. meauḡad, t increase, multiply. 17. In the 5th chapter of St. John. 21. léar, clear, possible. 22. ḡnátar, custom, habit. 24. ḡáoḡail an loctair é píonn, the Gaels of Southern Ireland.; pán oo rḡlábuiḡe, remain a slave. 25. It was yourselves, the spawn of the Saxon, that made us slaves against our wills; ari éisim = ar éisgan, with difficulty, against our wills; píóir, seed, tribe, progeny. 26. in tribute, in inheritance, in goods and in riches, to you belongs all the gain. 27. With the sharpness of our swords and the fine points of our spears, and by the strength of our arms.

MAC CUARTA.

Císgíob ríob an Éiríonn, amhríob éigin. a' r' biaib' san ádarrad
Deir na naoim' 'rha fíor-éileirí' go rígníorfar fáiltact.

Cuirte.

Ḡac uair na ncuḡamáoio buaib' aib' ḡacólaib', a bícear dá ráob r'n
ácc biaib' ríao go cinnte raob n'ár nḡeup-rmácc ḡ áa t'cig Spáinníob.

MAC CUARTA

b' fáoa bí puball írrael 'ran éḡírc a mbuio a phápo
no go t'cug an t'ádaib' rígníor'cúig a' r' Maoiríe raob íao é'p'o an lán-muip.

Cuirte.

Ca huair a rinne rínn díogálar aib' ḡáo'áil mar do rinne pápo?
'S nar fáig re don-mac Míora san eug do'n t'píocet rín lácób?

MAC CUARTA

Ír fáide maoiríne fúig rímacet luét béarla ná Puball áapon
áir feaob dá céao bílaḡaib' a naoir ó céile san Rílaḡaib' é'p'áib'.

DÚITCE CRÉAMHAIN.

The following poem, called by O'Reilly 1 ḡCrimáitan ríor atá mo mian, and by Galligan Dúitce Créamhain no ḡríanán Barte úi Céallais, has been already dealt with in the chapter on MacCuarta's Birth-place. The version given here is the one used by Mr. Lloyd in his Duanairíe na Míob. It is an unsatisfactory version, and, from the title given above, it is evident that O'Reilly had an entirely different version before him. The caretakers in R.I.A. can vouch that I made a diligent but unsuccessful search for the missing version.

(SYNOPSIS.—*At the Boyn I poured out my sorrow thinking of my separation from Creamhain. Twenty thousand blessings on its people and its young maidens. That district had all delights—fishing and hunting, wooded and grassy views, placid waters and sun-kissed hills. How I long to hear again the cuckoo's cry and the warbling of the birds—to see again the new residence of the young lord with its harpers, its beautiful ladies, and its tables laden with goblets of Spanish beer and wine. Farewell, áe an uirge fuaib', with your gentle hospitable women—here among the foreigners I sigh for my lost friends. In spirit, I see the fish jumping in Lough na Slade and hear the birds singing in the leafy foliage on its banks. The boors of Co. Louth despise me and refuse to notice me—how different it was in hospitable Creamhain—the land of health and welcomes, the fairest district in Leinster, the briny fruitful land, the territory of poetry and of poetic genius. I am lonely for the beautiful dún of Grianan. Sweet, from amidst the singing of the birds, was the voice of the blackbird over the cave in the nut-laden woods. As, among the boors of the Boyne, I think of our pleasant pastoral evenings, my eyes fill with tears. In spirit I journey again to the Dún, to the new orchard, where we plucked black sloes and sweet-briar, gathered the fragrant fruit and the pleasant honey from the combs, and listened to the warbling of birds in the early morning; but, alas! Áit na nUan has been ploughed up and planted over by the rustic boors.*)

34. raob nar nḡeup-rmácc, under our bitter tyranny; áa t'cig Spáinníob, áa with the present has a future meaning. 35. puball írrael, the people of Israel. 37. díogálar. revenge. 39. maoiríne = muiríonne, emphatic, 1st person plural.

1r binn su̇t loim of cionn na huaimé¹¹ i scoilleib cnu̇b na néanlaic̃,
'S nac̃ bfuil ponc den sgeól nac̃ reinnfeap̃ leó ar bpaimeib̃ óga an Sruanaiñ
bu̇b sruinn a nglóir i sgeionn sác neoin 'r ní buan mo beo da bfeásgmuir̃
as búrraib̃ na bóinne, so cinnte, i mbíón 'rme líonta doérraib̃ i bfiabhan

Ar mo éirill cum an tóin 'r cum an sárpa nuaó, map¹² bfuigmuir̃ áirni
tuba 'sur pceac̃-éaopaí
meapa cúnraí ar éreannaib̃ olúta asur mil so ciuin ar éireogaib̃
loim san rmu̇ro a reinn tóinn i tóir sác lae ar mucóirge
ta áit na nllan, mo éraó 'r mo cumáir ! faoi éirice olúta as rsoleogaib̃.

IX, 1. ton, blackbird ; of cionn na huaimé, above he cave ; i scoilleib cnu̇b, in the nut-laden woods. 3. i sgeann. O'Kearney has i sgeionn ; da bfeásgmuir̃, O'Kearney has da néásgmuir̃, in their absence. 4. 'rme líonta doérraib̃ i bfiabhan, my eyes filled with tears, in sorrow.

X, 1. áirne, a sloe ; pceac̃-éaopa, sweet-brier. 2. meapa cúnraí, sweet fruit ; olúta, dense ; ar éireogaib̃, on honeycombs ; mucóirge = moic̃-éirge, early rising ; rsoleog̃, a rustic.

BEARTADHAIN A'L CRADH.

Mac Cuarta cct.

I found the following poem in Galligan's New York manuscript. I have not seen a copy of it elsewhere. It concerns a gentleman named Bartley Rice of Louth, who was buried in Killanny. It is important, inasmuch as it shows that Louth lay between Creamhuin and the Boyne.

(SYNOPSIS.—*I wish to speak of the hero, Bartley Rice, over whose grave in Killanny his parents and family are weeping. Even the flowers and the leaves show their sorrow, the birds in the woods bewail his loss, and since he was laid to rest the cuckoo no longer calls in the fields near Killanny. The moon has suffered an eclipse and the sun wears a mourning robe. How sad it is that the grave will be the final resting-place of all. We all remember well how, lately, in the pride of his youth, he exhibited his strength, and now all the young maidens from Creamhuin to the Boyne bewail his absence. Frequently he would set out from Louth to visit his friend Manus at Killencoole. And now he is laid in Killanny, we shall never see him again, and to Sheumas MacCuarta is left the task of composing his elegy. Would that I had the power to call him, as Lazarus was called from the grave. One consolation is left to us. From the Bible, from the Apostles, and from the teachings of our Faith we know that, when Michael blows the trumpet, we must all meet again.*)

I

Sapta nac̃ mbionn so ttrácta me áir̃
áir mo rgaíne deap̃ caoin búacall
an rparraib̃ úo do bí map̃ páir̃ mac̃ p̃ri
a tu̇s báimrogãn o'n Ri̇s búada
ta do mactair̃ as caoi 'r do deirb̃fuir̃ map̃ a sgeaona
asur t'áir̃ áir̃ r̃l̃ise buair̃ce
fa beartaib̃ seail úr a beic̃ da r̃meaó anp̃an úr̃
a cCillanaib̃ 'r san tóin le'n éir̃ge.

II

Nil bláct̃ deap̃ no tóill̃u̇r̃ fa'n haltaib̃ san mitleaó
Walnuts no crannaib̃ udlair̃
fuig̃ an iair̃ge a bí 'ran linn, nac̃ ar éas le do linn

Atá éanlaige na coilleaó cruaidh-ghol
 I r píor é go deimhin nac mbréaghuigheoir an cinneamhuin
 Ann ra ccré go mbéir rinn curta dunta
 Buidé me féin ann mar duine mo trí míle builead
 'Sa mhuir nac truaig ár gcurraíod.

III

Nac cúmhain leat mar bí Dearthaí d'Éirí
 Na tréan fear a tóir óige
 7 óigheanna na críe ag eascaoin da dít
 O Éiríamain go bhrúac Doimne
 Da bfuigheann mar gheir o'n Rí ag ceo glaocha air san ríge
 Mar Lazarus do deanaí beo é
 Adé, a claidhe, ta do luig go duir nac neigheon tu 'do fuig
 I r mac Cuarta ag deanaí ceoil duir.

IV

Ta lán do daoine uairle coir na hAdair reo fúar
 A beirfead beata uirge dhuinn mar luac raotair
 Speirdeamail buo d'ual do Seumas mac Cuarta
 An file ceart ruairc raotearmáil
 Ca gheirdeann ríad na cuaca a cCillanair le ghuaim
 O faigeadh annra tuamha rínte é
 Ca d'itig 7 ca d'ual 'r ca nraictear go la'n lúain
 Dearthaí air a cuairc míora.

V

Oganais o lúg coirde beiríom duirre clia
 feara go mbuó tu an rparraíod
 'S gur minic a bí do d'uil go Cillín a Cúil
 Mar a bí Maighnir a laoc laoir.
 Tá an gealaí raóí ríuio 'ra ghuair a cculair cúlair
 7 eclipre air lúna tarpuinghe
 O cuair re 'ran úir mo Dearthaí geal úir
 A coirde feara níl d'uil fáigail air.

VI

A cCillanais, mo bhrón, rínte ta an léogan
 'Se dóighead gac duirre diomra
 Ruan éiríde gac oigheanna i r meirre póg
 Do planoa de'n bpoir bpaillleán.
 Reir mar leigheir annra biobla i r na hAdraí go píor
 7 na heaglaí ar an traogal ro 'r truaig rinn
 Clann Éada buidé aríor o'n ccré ro real na fuig
 Tráit féirdear Miceal an búabail.

NOTES.

1.—O'Donovan identified Achadh Leith Deirg as Aghdearg in Farney. Glenn Righe is the vale of the Newry River. Drumconrath would be far out of the course of a person journeying between those two places.

2.—In a former number of the JOURNAL I have shown that Muirthemhne did not include north-west Louth (Vol. III, No. 1). Dundalk seems to have been the northern apex of the territory. In Vol. II (p. 216) I showed the boundaries of Crich Rois—that a line drawn from Corcreeghy southward to the river, thence along the course of the river to a spot about a mile from Drumconrath, and back up to Bellahoe would include the Co. Louth portion of it. Drumconrath does not lie in the portion between these two territories.

3.—Translation :

" God send the day when with banners floating
And harpers playing 'round Donaghmore,
With Spanish ale, and with wine-casks flowing
We'll welcome my boy to his native shore."

4.—One of the fields in the lands belonging to the MacDermotts is called Park na Creevanry. Mr. Lloyd would probably translate this " The field of the grey fertile soil." There is a Greenan near Cortial. Ballykelly cross-roads are not very far away. *Δη έτοις νυαο* may be Newstone in Louth Parish ; but MacCuarta and MacCooey frequently use the word *Clóc* to mean ' Castle ' *Δοι έτοις ράιτε* (MacCooey) ; *Δ ηεαν-έτοις ύραιλ* (MacCuarta). It is more than probable therefore than *Δη έτοις νυαο* was the new residence, Thomastown Court, built by MacDermott.

Even the physical features mentioned in the poem can be identified in the vicinity of Kilkerley—e.g., the Cave, the Dún and the Garrdha Nuadh. An account of the caves with which Donaghmore and Thomastown are honeycombed is given in Vol. III, No. 2, of the JOURNAL. The Dún at Dundalgain is not a mile away from Kilkerley. The orchard (*Δη ξάρρηδα νυαο*) attached to MacDermott's new residence was cut down less than fifty years ago. The praises bestowed in verse VIII were all deserved by Kilkerley—e.g., *Ώιτέε ιρ ηεάριρ 'ρνα κύγις ξάλλοα* ; *Ώιτέε να νωάν* ; *Ώιτέε να πλάιτε* ; *Ώιτέε να πάιτε*. How does Mr. Lloyd apply the epithet *Ώιτέε* *πάιμαρ* to Drumconrath parish ? Kilkerley itself is about two miles from the sea, and the parish has a coast-line of almost three miles.

5.—*Cré Cuinn* = *Críó-Cuinn*, the northern half of Ireland—(see Annals of Lough Cé, II, 135). If this reading were correct the poem probably would have been the poet's Lament, written in the Boyne Valley prior to his departure for Scotland, in which country he spent some time.

6.—O'Reilly calls this poet *Seasán ua néill*. In Omeath he is usually referred to as *Δη βοόδαρην ηαc néill*. Most of the MSS. speak of him as *níall ós ua mureáir*, and O'Curry refers to him as *níall ós ua hinneáctais*. Probably the correct name was *níall mac néill ua mureáir*.

Of the poem, *Δ τυλαίς υι ηέιτ*, *καρτέ 'ν ξηυαίμ ηεο οηε*, I have seen two MS. versions. It is a very long poem. The correct title is *τυηεαίμ néill óis υι ηηυνέαίρ*, and the first four lines are :—

Δ τυλαίς Ομέιτ, *καρτέ Δη ξηυαίμ ηεο οηε*
Ξαν ηραίλμιν να cλείηε α βιοή ξαc υαίρ ξαν τοcτ
Ξαν ηαβήμαc να ηΞαcέβεαλ 'ρ να ηναene υαίρle
Ξαν μεαδάιρ να οτεάο να λειΞεαc ουαηα.

Of the other poems I have found but two verses :—

ιρ έ μο τυηαρ ξο τυλαίμ (?) Ομέιτ
Δη τυηαρ ξαν cέιλλ βαc ηό
ΔΞ ουλ ηοίηε ηε αcήοΞαc néill
'S ξαc εαρηαίρ α μεαcυίΞεαρ cεόλ.—Mac Cuarta.

Βυó ηυηαρ υο cαρηαίηΞ ξαν ουαίρ
Ξο τυλλαc βεαΞ ηυαίηc Ομέιτ
'S α ηίρ cάειc, να cεαρηαίρ αen υαίρ
ηα αcήοΞαc ηυαίηcαρ néill.—Δη βοόδαρην.

Only the first verse is remembered in Omeath. The following version was taken down by *ηεαδαρ ua ουβουcα* :—

'Sé μο τυηαρ ξο τυλλαίς ua ηέιc
τυηαρ ξαν cέιλλ βαc ηό
Cuίρ cυΞαμ cαήοΞαλ ηυαίηc' υί néill
η τυηηρε 'ρ μεαcουΞαc βηοίη.

7.—The site of Thomastown House is well-known to all the people of the district. In the angle formed by the Carrick Road, and the road from Little Mill, through Donaghmore to Farrendreg are three long narrow fields, which, taking them in order from the cross-roads are called "The Orchard," "The Grot Field," and "Thatch-a-coll." The old mansion was in the centre of the Grot field, and a very small piece of the ruin may still be seen there. The orchard was cut down about forty-five years ago, while a well in Thatch-a-Coll is still known as MacDermott's well. O'Kearney says that the old house was in ruins in 1846. An old man over ninety years of age told me that in his boyhood it was owned by a family named Callan. In the entries from the Parochial Records it will be noticed that there were Callans closely related to the MacDermotts. From them it passed to the Kearneys, and the land was afterwards bought by a cousin of Nicholas O'Kearney, named Larkin, in whose family it still remains.

8.—A portion of the wall of Kilkerley House forms part of the boundary wall of the courtyard of the modern structure erected almost on the same site. The people of the district say that the place is haunted in a benign sort of way by a ghost called "The Bleeka" (Δη Βλίοκαδ). Both records and tradition show that during the eighteenth century it was owned by a man called James Blake or Black (Δη Βλίοκαδ), and many stories of his wild life are still current. Though he was not a Catholic, his name frequently found its way into the Baptismal Records of the Parish. In the early years of the nineteenth century the house was in possession of a younger branch of the family of MacKeowns of Belrobin. One member of this family, Kitt (Christopher) MacKeown, is popularly believed to have been one of the leaders in the burning of the Wild Goose Lodge. He gave the largest donation to the fund for the building of Kilkerley Chapel in 1820. The following notices of the family appear in the Parish Records:—

1797, June 23.—Baptism of James, son of Christopher MacKeown and Margaret Hearty of Kilkerley.

1800, Nov. 9.—John MacKeown of Kilcurley buried in Castletown.

1802.—Arthur MacKeown, Kilcurley, buried in Castletown.

1803, Mar. 22.—Michael MacKeone, Kilcurley, buried in Castletown.

1833, April 28.—Christopher MacKeone, Kilcurley, buried in Castletown.

According to tradition the building was pulled down over fifty years ago to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Railway Company. The owner of the Court had attempted to stop the Company from constructing the railway through his lands, but after several appeals, he lost the lawsuit. He preferred to tear down the Court and declare himself a bankrupt rather than pay the heavy costs of the action.

9.—The line is:—*ἡ μέ ἰνθεαν ἀν πῖς τὰ ἰ μβρυγῖν-ἐνοὶ-ἐτῆε.*

10.—There were two other families of the name, one at Seaside near Blackrock, the other at Dundee.

11.—Δη Κλοὶ Νουο. Mr. Lloyd speaks of a Newstone near Drumconrath. There is also a Newstone in Louth Parish. They are both in the territory of Crimthann. Possibly the reference may be to the "New stone court" of the MacDermotts at Thomastown.

—The caves in the Deerpark, Donaghmore and Thomastown are famous. The Deerpark, too, has still portion of the woods.

12.—Δη Οὐν. Οὐν Θεαλσαν is less than a mile from Kilkerley. Δη Σαμροα, Νουο may refer to "The Orchard."

ob.—The poet was mistaken here. The reference should be St. James V, 14.

oa.—There is an Omeath proverb which bears a resemblance to this line, but has a very different meaning—"Δὲ ἀπρυγῖς πρεῖν το ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἀόθουιν" = "Talking to an attentive listener." ὁ ἀόθουιν is a mountainous townland in Omeath, and the literal meaning seems to be "Telling a story to the brow of Bavan Mountain."

13.—Killencoole, between Dundalk and Ardee, is the site of an old castle of the Gernons. I have seen an Irish manuscript which belonged, in 1691, to Henry Carroll of Killencoole Castle. Killanny, the site of the old monastery of St. Enda of Aran, is a parish in Co. Louth, but in the diocese of Clogher. The town of Louth lies between Killanny and Killencoole.



Impression of the Seal of the Charter of Canons of St. Mary's of Louth.

THE Rev. Professor H. J. Lawlor, D.D., published in August, 1915* a Charter of Donatus, prior of Louth, containing a grant of the advowsons and tithes of the cantred of Mucherne, saving the third part of the tithes of a fee of one knight at Magheross, and a fee of four knights out of the lordship of Donaghmoyne. The Charter can be dated by internal evidence at about the year 1197 A.D. Attached to it is an interesting impression in green wax of the Seal of the Chapter of Canons of St. Mary's of Louth. The seal, which measures $2\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, is pointed oval. The device is an effigy of the Virgin holding the Child on her left knee. In her right hand she holds a *fleur-de-lis*. She is seated on a round arch. The Child has His right hand raised in benediction; He apparently holds something in His left. The background of the seal is diapered (see illustration). The inscription reads:—

S'C [AP] L'I CANONICORVM SCE MARIE DE LVGVE



This seal is of considerable interest, being one of the earliest Irish ecclesiastical seals known to the writer. Its connection with Louth makes its re-publication in the JOURNAL of the County Louth Archæological Society a matter of interest, although it has already been twice figured and described, once by Dr. Lawlor in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, and again by the present writer in the *Journal of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society*, Vol. IX., p. 122.

The block for the illustration has been lent to the Society by the permission of the Acting Director of the National Museum.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, M.R.I.A.

* *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXXII., Sec. C., p. 313.



An Ancient Cemetery, Mooretown, Ardee.



OME graves have recently been discovered in the middle of a field in the townland of Mooretown, Ardee, just across the boundary of Co. Meath. I am indebted to Mr. Dolan of Ardee for telling me of them, and also to Mr. Moore, the proprietor, for his kind reception of myself and Mr. Holtby, of Trinity College, who accompanied me to the site.

We found that the graves had been exposed in the course of digging to the rock for quarrying purposes. They were shallow trenches, about 2 feet 6 inches below the ground level, lined on each side for their lowest ten or twelve inches with slabs on edge, supporting horizontal cover-slabs. Eleven graves were exposed when we came on the ground. The length of one, which was perfect, was 8 feet 3 inches and its breadth 1 foot 6 inches; most of them had, however, been broken and were empty. They lay approximately east and west. Nothing whatever appears to have been deposited with the bodies.

The bones were much decayed and in a very rotten condition; and treasure-seekers had been rooting in the site and had done some damage without any profit to themselves. They were taken to Dublin by Mr. Holtby for examination, and have now been replaced. Their injured condition has made them less instructive than they might have been.

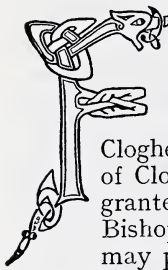
The graves might be of any date from (say) the 1st century B.C. down to the battle of Clontarf. The *Leabhar Oiris* tells us that Brian Boromhe was buried in just such a grave in Armagh Cathedral; and similar graves have been found at Iona. It is not however probable that the Mooretown graves are so late; the total absence of trace or tradition of any Christian church or other consecrated site on the spot is against our regarding them as Christian interments, and the bones are in some ways suggestive of a pre-Christian population. The people to whom they belonged were in the habit of resting in a squatting position, like modern Orientals.

It is hoped to contribute a full technical description of the bones to the Royal Irish Academy.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.



The Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, Knock.*



FORMERLY there were two abbeys of Augustinian Canons at Louth. The more opulent institution was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its site and precincts may easily be identified. Its ruins remain and are known as The Abbey on the north-west side of the town. According to a note preserved from the Register of Clogher this abbey was founded by Tighernach Mac Gilla Roain, Bishop of Clogher. It is stated that he founded it upon a site which had been granted by his predecessor in the See of Clogher, Aedhan O Caellaidhe. Bishop Mac Gilla Roain reigned from 1195 to 1217. Consequently we may place the foundation of the abbey of St. Mary between these dates.

The second abbey was separated from St. Mary's by only a few perches. We term it the second abbey because during the greater part of its existence it was second to St. Mary's in wealth and importance. At a matter of fact it was founded fifty years before the Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary's. It was dedicated by its founders to SS. Peter and Paul. A second note in the register of Clogher supplies the story of its origin.

"Donaldus O Carrvill, *alias* O Carroll, Rex Ergaliae Coenobium construxit SS. Petro et Paulo in loco olim dicto Knock na Sengain—i.e., Collis Formecarum dictum coenobium de Knock juxta Louth, et idem replevit Canonicis Regularibus. Et Edanus O Kelly Episcopus Clocherensis prædia eidem concessit et latifundiis ditavit."

"Donnchadh O Cearbhaill, King of Oirghiall, raised a monastery to SS. Peter and Paul in a place formerly called Cnoc na Sengain—i.e., Ant Hill, known as the Monastery of Cnoc near Louth and he filled it with Canons Regular. Aedhan O Caellaidhe, Bishop of Louth, granted lands to it and liberally endowed it."

An almost insignificant ruin in a field north of the village is all that remains to mark its site. Peculiarly enough this piece of scraggy wall is popularly known as "the pinnacle." It is in no sense a pinnacle, and the name had its origin in a corruption. The Ordnance Surveyors record that it was at an earlier time known as "pill a crick," and this is a corruption of the Irish *Teampall an cnuic*, which simply means the Church of Knock. There can be no doubt that in this ruin we behold all that remains of the famous church which was founded by Donnchad

Knock in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries known also as Knocklouth and Knockfergus.

O Cearbhaill in 1146, which was consecrated by St. Malachy in 1148 and which figured for a period as the cathedral church of the diocese of Clogher.

The monastery was also known as the monastery of the Hill of the Apostles, and this name recalls the famous book of *Cnoc na nApostol*, which was compiled for Donnchad O Cearbhaill and which he presented to the monastery. In 1180 Bishop O Caellaidhe was buried in or near this monastery. Afterwards his successor Tighernach was laid to rest beside him. The Register of Clogher makes it appear as if Tighernach was buried within the precincts of St. Mary's, the monastery founded by him. As the land on which St. Mary's was founded was granted by Bishop O Caellaidhe, there is no need for supposing that any discrepancy has occurred in the dual record. The Register is minute in stating that the graves of the two bishops were opposite the well, "*contra fontem*." Probably then they may be regarded as near the place where the town pump stands. In the name Ballykelly, *Bealach Caellaidhe*, the name of a road near Louth, we have preserved a probable reminiscence of Bishop O Caellaidhe's relations with this district.

A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul must not be passed over. It would seem from the beginnings of the Norman occupation that it became immediately subject to the King. When a vacancy occurred application was usually made to the King for a *Congé d-elire*. He granted this licence, the Canons elected their Abbot, usually a member of their own community, the election was confirmed by the King and by the Archbishop of Armagh. Installation was made by the Archbishop; an oath of fealty to the King was exacted from him, and upon payment of a fine the temporalities, which during the vacancy were seized by the Crown, were restored. Sometimes the newly-elected Abbot crossed to England to take the oath of fealty in the presence of the King himself; but the King usually deputed one of his officers in Ireland to receive it. The Abbey of St. Mary's, on the other hand, which was founded after the coming of the Normans, does not seem to have come so closely under the jurisdiction of the King, although it belonged to the same order as SS. Peter and Paul's.

It is well known that long before either of these monasteries was founded, a monastery of Irish monks had existed here, founded by St. Mochta. The stone-roofed structure quite beside St. Mary's, known as *Séiréal Mochta*—Mochta's Chapel, remains after many centuries to testify to its existence. It is very likely indeed that St. Mary's monastery was raised upon its site. It is clear if this be so that the Irish monks had gone from the place before or during Bishop Mac Gilla Roain's reign. Were they there and did the ancient monastery still survive when SS. Peter and Paul's was founded? It may be cited as an argument in favour of this theory, that SS. Peter and Paul's was not built upon the ancient site. The traditions and the evidence in this matter all favour St. Mary's.

We shall now set forth as far as possible under dates the various incidents in the history of SS. Peter and Paul's which have been recorded.

1146.—The monastery of Sts. Peter and Paul at Knock, near Louth, founded by Donnchadh O Cearbhaill and endowed by Bishop Aedhan O Caellaidhe.

1148.—The church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Cnoc na Sengain consecrated by St. Malachy, Papal Legate and Bishop of Down.

1180.—Bishop Aedhan O Caellaidhe buried at or near the monastery.

1217.—Bishop Tighernach Mac Gilla Roain buried near his predecessor Bishop O Caellaidhe.

1260.—Hugh de Ardiz granted to this abbey all the ecclesiastical dues of his lands of Ratogh, excepting only that the Canons of St. Peter's of Newtown Trim, and the Canons of St. Thomas', Dublin, should receive thereout twenty shillings (? St. Mary's).

1261.—Abbot John elected. Master William . . . ordered in 1262, before the Temporalities should be restored, to account for 2 marks accruing from St. Gregory's day (12th March), 1261, to the 26th November same year.

1280.—Abbot John Farron elected in succession to John, who had resigned. In his letter to Robert De Ufford the Justiciary, the King complains that the Canons had proceeded to elect without having received the royal licence; that they had prayed the royal assent, although the election had been made in prejudice to the King. However, compassionating the condition of the abbey, which was represented to him as very poor, the King directed De Ufford to accept a fine from the Canons, and empowered him to give as an act of special grace the royal assent to the election. Should the election be canonically confirmed by the Archbishop of Armagh, he was to take the fealty of the newly-elected and to restore the temporalities, not however before he had received letters that in future the present grace shall not be deemed a precedent.

1304, June 10.—Brother Thomas, Canon of Knock, announces to King the death of John, the late abbot, and receives licences to proceed to a new election: "To elect an abbot, devout, fit to rule their church, and faithful to the King and to Ireland." The Justiciary receives powers as above, "having first received from the elect letters patent under his seal and the seal of the chapter that the grace which the King grants of mere liberality shall not tend to the King's prejudice or disherison nor be hereafter drawn into a precedent."

1344.—Abbot Patrick died.

1344.—Luke, Canon of SS. Peter and Paul's, Knock, elected Abbot. The temporalities of the abbey were seized as usual and remained in the custody of the Crown from 10th February until 30th April. From an account of Roger Darcy, Escheator, it appears that the revenues were not considered sufficient to afford sustenance to the Canons and their servants. Luke's election was confirmed by David Mageraghty, Archbishop of Armagh. Abbot Luke paid a fine for the privilege of taking the oath of fealty before the Deputy in Ireland, as he had not where with to pay his passage into England to take the oath in presence of the King. William, son of John Keppock, and Henry, a burgess of Louth, were commanded to receive a fine of 2 marks and to restore the temporalities to Luke.

1349.—Brother Domhnall, Canon, elected Abbot; the election assented to by the King and confirmed by Archbishop of Armagh. He made his oath of fealty and on payment of one mark the temporalities were restored.

1350.—The late Abbot (?) Domhnall died. The temporalities came into the possession of the Crown 20th January, 1350. An election was held "in the conventual church of Sts. Peter and Paul," and Henry (O Connellan?), Sacristan of that church and a Canon was elected. In the absence of the Primate (Fitzralph) in remote regions his Vicars General, Master Isaac O Culean, Canon of Armagh, and the Venerable cleric William Mercer confirmed the election. Abbot Henry took the usual oath of fealty. The temporalities were ordered to be restored on 20th May, 1350, but the order does not appear to have been obeyed until after 19th March, 1351.

1410, May 2.—Archbishop Fleming wrote Henry IV announcing that the monastery being vacant by the death of Henry, the Canons, having previously obtained the royal licence, elected Geoffrey Brown a canon thereof, the bearer of the letter, as appears by the decree of the election sent to the Archbishop, that the Archbishop had confirmed the election. He prayed the King to receive the elect favourably and to order his business to be set forward with speed.

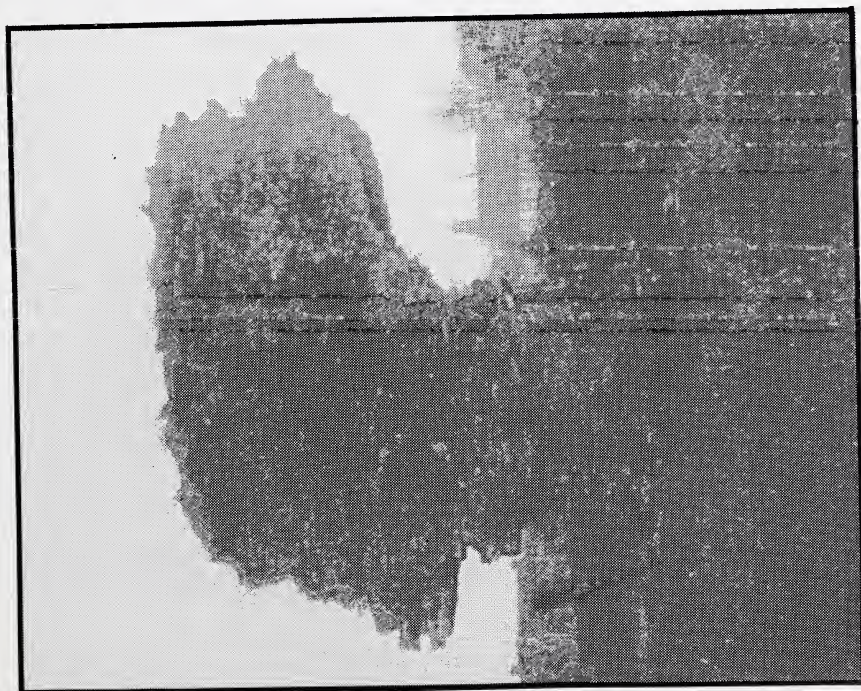
1411, June (?).—Archbishop Fleming informs Archdeacon W. Pirroun of Drogheda that Geoffrey Brown has resigned, that the Canons have elected Simon,



"THE PINNACLE."

INTERIOR VIEW.

Remains of SS. Peter and Paul's, Knock, Louth.



"THE PINNACLE."

EXTERIOR VIEW.

Remains of SS. Peter and Paul's, Knock, Louth.

Canon of Holy Trinity, Dublin, that he had confirmed the election, instituted Simon and invested him, and decreed his induction.

1416.—The late abbot (?) Simon having been deprived, application was made to Henry IV to grant the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, Knock, near Louth, O.S.A. and those to whom the right of election belongs, licence to elect an abbot.

1418.—James Lockhard, abbot, paid into the office of the King's Remembrancer one mark, for a breach of law for Henry O Connellan lately abbot, and for himself for having received and professed John MacKennavane an Irishman.

1435.—James Lockhard resigned. The King, in a letter dated 20th October, to John De Pilkington, 'his beloved and faithful knight,' Junior Escheator in Ireland, announces that John (Swayne), Archbishop of Armagh, had received the resignation of James Lockhard and that he had "jure devoluto pro hac vice," provided Patrick Ledwyche Canon Regular of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Louth to the abbacy, that the royal assent had been accorded to the appointment. He directs that Pilkington restore the temporalities.

1492, May 17th.—At this date we find that James Ybrun (O Byrne), priest of the diocese of Clogher, entered into bonds with the Apostolic Chamber to pay the annats due to the Papal Treasury for the bull of his appointment as principal of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul of Cnoc, near Louth. The foundation at this date would seem to have lost much of its former monastic character, as O Byrne was a secular priest. He was probably prior "in commendam."

1507.—James MacMahon, who is called by Ware Commendatory Prior of the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul of Knock, was promoted to the Bishopric of Derry. He died a little before Christmas in the year 1517.

1539.—The dissolution of SS. Peter and Paul's on the 25th November, 1539, "John Carroll abbot, with the consent of the Convent" surrendered "the house of St. Peter of Knock." A pension of £3 was granted to "John Carroll, late abbot of Knocke," and to "Henry Lucoke," who apparently was one of his confrères, a pension of £1 6s. 8d. was granted, both of which were to be paid from the revenues of the confiscated property of the abbey.

1541.—An extent of all and singular the lands, tenements and other possessions as well spiritual as temporal belonging to the late abbey of Knock or lying in the County of Louth, now in the hands of Lord Henry VIII by the Grace of God King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland and Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, through the dissolution of the late abbey or monastery according to a return thereof made by the late abbot and dissolved convent on the 2nd October in the 32nd year of the reign of the said King, before William Cavendish, Auditor of the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown, and one of the Commissioners of the King lately appointed, together with Anthony St. Leger, Knight, Deputy of the land of Ireland, Thomas Walsche, Baron of the Exchequer of the same Lord the King in England, John Wynne, Auditor of the same Exchequer, by letters patent under the great seal of England, amongst other things for the superintendence and survey of all and singular the castles, tenures, lordships, manors, lands, tenements and other possessions and hereditaments wherever lying within the lands of Ireland. The same William Cavendish, Walter Cowley, Solicitor of the causes of the said King in Ireland, and Patrick Dowdall, gent., being then present, the following on their oath—viz. : Nicholas Garland, Patrick McByrne, Owen O Cor, Wm. O Kervill, O Honwynam (?), Henry Gernon and other good and lawful men of the country :—

Vill of Knockmill. Declare—that there are in the Vill of Knockmill cxx. acres lately demised for xls. and xii. firkins of butter, two eggs and one swine—

value xis. viii*d.*, but now by reason of the Warr and Rebellion of the Irish of Flerney (Farney) they lie waste and unoccupied.

That Patrick Blarres and other tenants of Allardston holds at will cxx. acres arable and pay annually—with xii. firkins of butter, two eggs and one swine, value xis. viii*d.*—lis. viii*d.* That there are xxx acres of arable land near the bridge of Knockmill, called Lyetatte (leir-tate = half tate), which were lately demised for vis. viii*d.* yearly, but now by reason of the Rebellion lie waste.

Total extent of the said Vill—vis. viii*d.*

The Grange, near Milton,

That George Gernon of Milton holds there at will lx. acres of arable land and pays yearly xxvis.

Free Tenants—

That the Free Tenants of the Vill of Rathdowe pay yearly two pounds of wax value viii*d.*

Vill of Clykevill—

That there are there lx. acres of arable land called le Ynnaghts lately demised for xiiis. iii*d.*, which lie waste by reason of the Rebellion of the Irish of Flerney (Farney).

Vill of Layttywe—

That there are in the Vill of Layttywe near the lower part of Inferney (Farney) lx. acres of arable land lately demised for vis. viii*d.* and one swine, value xxs yearly, which now lie waste by reason of the Rebellion aforesaid.

Vill of Louth—

That there are xv. acres of arable land which Patrick O Mulgarland, Cornelius O fenty and John MacScolloggye occupy, vi. acres arable and the residence lie waste. They pay yearly iiis. vi*d.*

Tithe portions and donation belonging to the late Priory—

That James Garnon, knight, holds at will the tithes of the Vill of Castlering lately demised at xls. yearly and now by reason of the Rebellion for xxs.

That the said James holds at will the tithes of Knockmill lately demised for xls. yearly, but now by reason of the War and Rebellion of Inferney (Farney) for xxs.

That Henry Lucoke, chaplain, holds at will the tithes of Grange near Allardston and pays yearly xls., and that George Gernon holds at will the tithes of Grange near Milton and pays yearly xxs.

Total extent of the said tithes iii*i*/i. xs.

They declare that the Prior of the said late Priory by right every third turn gave and presented to the perpetual vicarage of Drumyskin (recte Drummyng) and the Bishop of Armagh on the other two turns presented to the said Vicarage of Drummyn. That the provision of the advowson of the said Vicarage belongs to the King when it shall fall vacant, and that the gift and presentation of the Vicars of the parishes of Drommyskyn and Termonfeikin belong to the King by reason of the dissolution, whenever and as often as they shall become vacant; that there are no forests, woods or underwoods on the said land and possessions of the late Priory nor were there.

Total extent of all the possessions as well spiritual as temporal belonging to the said late Priory beside the waste lands. viii*i*/i. xiiis. x*d.*

Annual debts

Moreover, the jurors upon their oath declare that the Prior and Convent of the late Priory were bound to pay the several rents, fees and debts following:—

To the Bishop of Armagh for proxies yearly,	..	xxs.
Synodals paid yearly to the said Bishop,	..	vi <i>d.</i>
Proxies paid yearly to the Archdeacon of Armagh,	..	vs. vi <i>d.</i>
Total,	..	xxvis.

1616.—It is on record in the Chancery Rolls of Ireland that our Lord King James (I) by letters patent under the great seal of his kingdom of Ireland and dated at Dublin in the 13th year of his reign as King of England, France, and Ireland and in the 48th of Scotland, gave granted and confirmed to John King, knight, Privy Councilor of Ireland, the site, circuit, ambit and precinct of the late abbey or priory of St. Peter of Knock in the Co. of Louth, and the church, dormitory, hall and cemetery and other buildings and structures within the precinct of the said late abbey or priory, together with all the other messuages, cottages, houses, buildings and lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever within the site, circuit and precinct and belonging to it in the County of Louth; also 120 acres arable land belonging to it in the vill and fields of Knockmill beside the Bridge (juxta Pontem) otherwise called The Grange;

120 acres of arable lately in the tenure of the tenants of Allardstowne.

30 acres beside the Bridge aforesaid, called the Tate in Co. Louth aforesaid, parcell of the possessions belonging to the late abbey of Knocke.

Also 60 acres in the Grange beside Milltown, &c

2 pounds of wax head rent from the vill of Rathdowe, &c.

60 acres of arable in Funoghes in Clankervill n Co. Monaghan or Louth lately &c.

60 acres in Laitive, alias Letton in Ferney in Co. Monaghan

15 acres in the vill of Louth, and all the other lands, tenements, &c., belonging to these possessions and the tithes and alterages

Also the tithes of the vills or hamlets of Castlring, Knockemill and Grange beside Milton, part of the possessions of the said late abbey, &c., paying yearly for the site, &c., of the tithes and alterages and offerings, 5 shillings of Irish money.

For Knockmill als Grange, Allardstowne le Tate, and the Grange beside Milton, the receipts from Rathdowe, the Funaghes, Laytive, alias Letton, and for the said 15 acres in the vill of Louth, £8 10s. 4d. Irish money; and for all other lands, &c., of Grange beside Allardstown, alias Knockmill, the Grange beside Millton, Funaghes and Louth aforesaid and elsewhere in Co. Monaghan, &c., 5 shill. Irish money; and for the tithes and the said vills, and vill or hamlets of Castlring, Knockmill, the Grange beside Allardston and the Grange beside Millton, &c., £7 of the money aforesaid.—Total rent, £16 os. 4d. Irish.

1639.—Charles by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c., to all, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have given, granted, bargained, sold, released and confirmed and by these presents for us our heirs and successors we do give, grant, bargain, sell, release and confirm to the aforesaid Sir Richard Bolton, knight, his heirs and assigns for ever all the site, bottom, circuit, ambit and precinct of the late dissolved abbey or Priory of St. Peter of Knocke in the County of Louth, and the church, dormitory, hall, churchyard and all other buildings and structures within the precinct of the same late Abbey or Priory aforesaid. And all and singular other messuages, houses, cottages, &c., &c., within the said circuit and precincts in the Town or fields of Louth to the said late Abbey or Priory, belonging, &c. And also all and singular messuages, houses, cottages, dovecotes, mills, weirs, water, watercourses, &c., &c., in the towns, villages, hamlets or fields of Knocksmill near the Bridge, the Grange near Allardstown, the Tate, the Grange near Milltowne in the said County of Louth, and the Innaghes in the County of Louth and the County of Monaghan, or either of them, all which are reputed parcel of the possessions of the said late Abbey or Priory of St. Peter of the Knocke in the said County of Louth. And also $\frac{1}{4}$ parts of a certain parcel of land into four equal parts divided called the Uragh in the said County of Louth adjacent to the lands of Knocksmill aforesaid. And also all tithes of grains and flax growing or renewing or hereafter to grow or renew in, out, of or upon the town and lands of Castlringe in the said County of Louth containing seven tates of land, viz: the tate of Castlringe,

alias Castlefranche, the tate of Dromonely, the tate of Carrigmoyle, the tate of Little Ayshe, the tate of Drumkay, the tate of Tolgee, alias Tulloghgee, and the tate of Ballyloghan in the County of Louth aforesaid . . . , &c.

In witness whereof we have caused these letters to be made patent, &c., . . . 10th day of April in the fifteenth year of our Reign. 1639.

1765.—In a deed to declare uses of a fine drawn between George Clive and Sydney Clive, alias Bolton, his wife on one part, said Sydney being only sister and heir-at-law of Theophilus Bolton, late of Knock, Co. Louth, and Sir Edward Clive, Knight, Justice of Court of Common Pleas, Westminster, the possessions of St. Peter, Knock, are described as follows. Date 1765 :

" All that and those the site, circuit and precinct of the dissolved Abbey, Monastery, or Religious House of St. Peter, commonly called Abbey of Knock in the County of Louth, and also of and upon all messuages, cottages, mills, &c., &c., in the town and lands of Knock and Grange or either of them late the estate of Theophilus Bolton and now belonging to the said George Clive and Sydney his wife, with the corn mill and turf mill thereon, the town and lands of Letate otherwise the half of Tate, the town and lands of Annoghs, otherwise Annaghies, commonly called Bolton's Annaghies, and also of and upon all that and those the lands commonly called Bolton's intermixed in and about the town of Louth—that is to say, Kindran, otherwise Ffindran, Townhill, Shiliff, Crocknob, Summerhil, Killalard, Knock churchyard and meadows and the six acres park together with the impropriate tithes, &c. As also upon all that and those the Impropriate Tythes great and small of the seven tates of the manor of Castleryng—that is to say, Castleryng, Drumrath, otherwise Dromrath, Ashbog, otherwise Ashbeg, otherwise Little Ash, Drumgonally, otherwise Drumgoanally, Carrickmullan, Ballylaughan, otherwise Ballinlogham, otherwise Ballinlogan and Tullygee. And also of and upon the Impropriate Tythes great and small of the Grange of Milltown. And also upon a yearly chief rent of forty shillings, &c., issuing and payable out of the said lands of the Grange of Milltown in the County of Louth aforesaid As also of and upon all that and those the town and lands called and known by the names of The Mount, Knockmore, Rans, Upper Ellan, Lower Ellan, otherwise Upper and Lower Ellan, Lissurry (or Liscurry) and Sheliffe commonly called Tisdall's intermixed acres in and about the town of Louth with the appurtenances in the said County of Louth. And also of and upon all that and those the town and lands of Ranitty, otherwise Ranity, containing by estimation 120 acres of arable land, Plantation Measure, in the Barony of Louth, &c. And also of and upon all that and those the moiety of the town and lands commonly called and known by the name of the manor of Stone-town (that is to say) the two Tates of Rosslough, otherwise Rosslogh, Muff Tate, Castle Tate, Taten Rendenguonach, otherwise Edinquin, Tate Enogharmore otherwise Enaghermore, Tate Knochgarey, otherwise Crockahue, Tate Ranomey, otherwise Raving, otherwise Ravoney, Tatendarragh, Tate in logh, Tate Castle Raveen, otherwise Rouman, otherwise Rowrinan, Drumgurish, and the great bog called Dunmillo (otherwise and now Munullo Bog) containing in the whole by common estimation 1,083 acres, Plantation Measure, all lying and being in the Barony of Atherdee and County of Louth aforesaid. And also of and upon all that and those the town and lands of Culnedan, otherwise Coleredan, containing by common estimation 28 acres, &c., &c. Signed, &c. 16th October, 1765."

1860.—The lands passed by purchase from the Clive family through Rev. Archer Clive of Whitfield in the County of Hereford to Right Hon. Anna Maria, Baroness of Louth, of Louth Hall—namely :

LOR 2. Being the lands of Knockchurch and certain tenements and premises

in the town of Louth, containing together 9 acres 3 roods 32 perches statute measure be the same more or less.

Lot 4. Certain other tenements in said town of Louth containing 16 acres 28 perches statute measure.

Lot 6. Part of the land of Salins, now called Solmas, and other certain part of the lands of Amuck, containing together 35 acres 2 perches.

Lot 7. Contain other parts of the said lands of Amuck, cont. 41 acres 1 rood and 35 perches.

No. 8. The lands known by the name of Clonberron, now called Clanbearnon, cont. 32 acres 1 rood and 36 perches.

No. 9. The lands of Crosspatal, part of said lands of Salins or Solmas or the Yellow Rock, part of Richard Taffe's holding, cont. 21 acres 1 rood 19 perches.

An extract from Lady Louth's rent roll enables us to identify the tenant of the remnant of Knock Abbey in 1860 :

<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Tenant's Name.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>		
		a	r.	p.
Knockchurch,	Bolton Carragher*	5	2	14
Town of Louth,	do.	1	1	9
„	Reps. J. Overend,	0	1	28
„	do.	0	1	21
„	do.	2	1	0
Total, ..		9	3	32

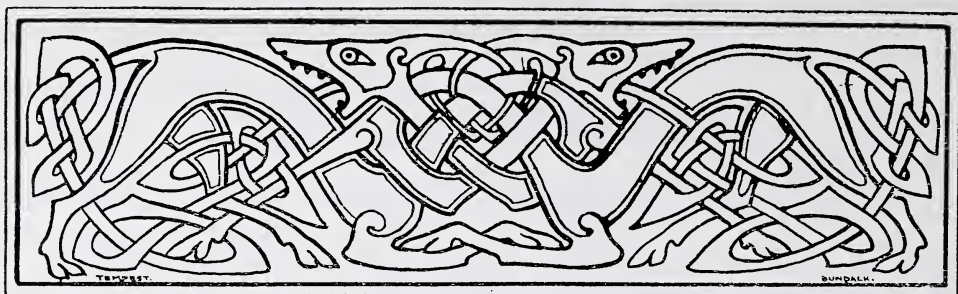
* A dwelling-house two storeys high on this holding.

The total lands under Lot 2 supra are here accounted for. Several persons giving remember that Bolton Caragher was tenant of the dwelling-house now the Post Office in Louth, and that he held the field in which " the pinnacle " now stands. It is clear that this ruin was known in 1860 as Knock Church, and is therefore all that is left of the Abbey of SS Peter and Paul.

In conclusion, I beg to acknowledge gratefully the kindness of Mr. John Byrne, Louth, who lent me the documents from which I made the extracts from the Charter of Charles I and the other items which follow to the end of the article.

T GOGARTY.





Lament for Brian, Son of Coll MacMahon.

THE following poem was written on the death of Brian MacMahon, son of Coll MacMahon. He died in Dublin in 1689, the year before the battle of the Boyne. O Kearney styles him "Baron of Carrickmacross."

Another Ulster poem of about this date mentions a Brian MacMahon, probably the same individual—(see *Δὐρδῖον Διηγετὶς τῆς Ἰστῆς*, page 77, verse 20).

Ever MacCooley MacMahon was the great chief of Farney in the time of Hugh O'Neill. He died 1617. Brian, his son and successor, died two years later in 1619. Coll, son of Brian, figured largely in the 1641 Rising, and was one of the Ulster representatives in the Confederation of Kilkenny. He lived at Leigue, not far from Carrickmacross. Brian, the subject of this poem, was son of Coll, and was one of the Co. Monaghan representatives in the Jacobite Parliament of 1689. A vault in Inniskeen old graveyard was erected in 1672 by Ardell, a brother of Brian's.

The Captain Coll MacMahon who erected the cross at Inniskeen (see *LOUTH ARCH. JOURNAL*, 1908, page 84) was probably a son of Brian's. Another Coll MacMahon, who died 1820, has a tomb in Inniskeen. It is from these Colls and Ardalls that the modern family names MacCaul (recte MacColla) and MacArdle, so common in Louth and Monaghan, are descended.

Matthew Moore Graham, Nicholas O Kearney, Art Bennett, and David Garrity all attribute the authorship of the poem to Patrick MacAlindon. Michael Murphy does not mention who the author was. O'Reilly in his *Irish Writers* says this poem was composed by Owen O'Donnelly, an Ulster bard. However, the weight of authority as well as of probability is against O'Reilly, and we may take it as fairly certain that Patrick MacAlindon was the author.

It appears from the poem that he was killed, but this may be merely a poetic expression. A good deal of the poem is in praise of Brian; he is called the champion of Magh Rois and the active hawk of Slieve Breagh. The oldest portion of Carrickmacross, now a suburb of the little town, is still called Magh Ross (recte Magh Rois): it is also the ecclesiastical name of the parish. The reference to

Slieve Breagh shows that Brian MacMahon's territory extended south and south-west of Carrickmacross to the hills of Meath at Barley Hill and Tubbermanan. These were the foothills of Slieve Breagh on the Farney border.

Brian, the poet says, was as a furious torrent in the empurpling of lances in battle, but like a child amongst the weak and lowly: he was like Conn of the Hundred Battles going into action, but soft as a youth in the presence of a saint or a bard. And when compared with Brian Boru or Brian of Down (i.e., of the Battle of Down) the poet can recognise no superiority in the deeds of the latter two as against those of Brian MacMahon. The poet describes him as living in almost regal state at Carrickmacross. On the walls of his residence were hung many helmets and shields and swords and spears, and banners of satin. His warriors wore glittering close-fitting coats of mail, and carried hatchets and javelins, or wore swords in golden scabbards. At his table were served choice foods, fish and honey, while wine and mead circulated in cups and goblets ornamented with oriental jewels. Many serving girls were in attendance within, while the voice of trumpets and of soldiers exercising could be heard outside, and Brian himself is termed "the teacher of heroes," hence he must have trained his own troops. He was visited by poets and learned men, and these always returned with gifts of a horse or of gold. But now the poet bids good-bye to this endowment of learning and music, for Brian is dead, and deep shouts of lamentation and woe echo from hill to hill over Conn's Half. How much of this is fact, and how much poetic exaggeration it would be interesting to know.

May I express the hope that some one will give us a further account of this remarkable man from contemporary English sources.

ENRI Ó MUIRGEADA.

marbha brian mic colla.

Ennī ula Muirgeara, do cuip in easar.

I

Tróm na gárta reo do leit Cuinn
Foillrigítear duinne rḡeala fíor
An uaili-ḡuile fear ar árdaib cnoic
Cia h-uair anocht a tairlaib díb.

II

Tar gac oile dá dtainic amam
Soir ir riar i n-linnir flainn
Do ruz barr urbuidhe san fíor
A n-urbuidhe 'noir do tairla linn

III

bár mic Colla i n-áit Cliait
Samail fírdaib na scolḡ tróm
Ṣus tróm-gárta in gac múir
Asur fíára rúl olltae oll.

IV

ḡoin san íce carḡair brian
Do haineab ciall do coimníuib ead
Ar n-eang-buair bile Muirge Ruir
Slán anoir le coréac cread.

V

Slán fearta le pronnab dír
Le cairmirt ceoil le cairmirt áis
Ar n-éas fionn-émann Colla Uair
Slán uaim le cabruḡab cáic.

VI

Ni h-ionḡnab tróm-ḡul a beic fá brian
Fear ó ḡliaib nac nḡabab rḡir
Iar dteartaib brian na dtear teann
Ir colann san ceann an clár ro ír.

VII

Buab deacair coim-mear fíḡail le brian
Áro-mac Colla na rḡiait ndearḡ
ḡnatae uime a laoda nḡlonn
Fianna tróm buab fíocmar fearḡ.

VIII

b'iomda rin ar taeḡlaig brian
An fear náir iar cḡob le ceilḡ
ḡḡ-buidhean áluinn buab réim ḡnúr
Mar ḡarrab Óuin an halla dḡirḡ.

IX

b'iomda ríogán go neartaíod nuaó
 ar halla brian na ríogá nteann
 i mbeartaib n-iongnad gréar nuaóac
 'Sgac deilb nuaímar mbeaíac ann.

X

Do b'iomda caibíar, b'iomda ríat
 i mbeartaib brian na ríogá ríam
 Colá nime ar a mbíod gráin
 Ir cearpaíac aís buo rínn-gréar rínn.

XI

Do b'iomda luíreac d'íreac d'íreac
 Do b'iomda cú, do b'iomda eac
 Iomda féinne do b'íar ríat
 Do b'iomda tuas do b'iomda sac.

XII

Do b'iomda claidíam i mbeartaib óir
 b'iomda ríol na cúr le cearn
 i d'íreacall míro m'íre Ruir
 Ir deallíad luir le rínníob rínn.

XIII

Do b'iomda blaíma coru ir cuac
 Do clócaib mbuad na d'íreacá ríor
 San mbeartaí ríatíon ann a mbíod brian
 ríon ir íarí ir mead ir míl.

XIV

Do b'iomda ríle ir fáil le ríor
 As ríall do'n líor dá b'íreac ríar
 'S gan don neac se líoníam d'íob
 Gan eac ir óir ar aís ó brian.

XV

Ba n-dóibinn fíor as éiríreac ceoil
 i mbeartaib brian na ríogá ríam
 Do b'iomda ainníar go ríogáíob ríam
 Dá b'íreacal ann éiar ir ríor.

XVI

Do cluntáoi aríar ar uairíob ann
 ríreacal na n-dáim nímíneac nóct
 Coirríreac íoríul ríall sac aís
 Sáir na mbáir ir sáir na ríoc.

XVII

Brian d'íreac ir brian an d'íam
 Tá rííob nae ar d'íreac do ríat
 Ríor b'íreac dáim as ríar do'n ríar
 Báir i mbeartaí ar ríreacal brian

XVIII

Δ θεῖτ na νθεῖρ ἱρ ὁαὴ na ἠρόιν
 ἠεapna ρλόις ἱρ 'mburdean mbap
 Corp pnuad-ḡeal nāp ḡile an ḡeῖr
 ḡac fuil ὁά εῖρ as peparainn ppar.

XIX

Teanncup teanḡail ḡeapopac nḡeap
 Muir po tpean as coirneac neapc
 pepar map Moḡ Nuadac na ḡcolḡ
 Tpom a colḡ as ciorrbpuḡad cpeacḡ.

XX

Opo oplann po veipḡe vpoil
 le nuḡt bioḡḡad nac nḡadad coḡt
 Top-ḡappi tpom pā peime meap
 eῖpe peparḡa ḡan pāl ὁά corpḡ.

XXI

Seadac pnuḡlac ḡeῖḡe ḡpeas
 Mapac na nḡpead n aῖḡpeac n-āpo
 ḡop-ḡappi leadaiῖ le pḡaoilḡeac ḡp
 Cumḡac na n-ōpo ἱρ beacḡa na mbāpo.

XXII

Oῖḡe ḡaipḡiḡiḡ ὁo b'pēappi iūil
 Cpoidḡe ḡo n-ūp pā n-uile pppē
 Comla ḡin as muḡad tpuim
 nac ap cūp puiḡ pan ḡcuinne cē.

XXIII

Δ pḡolḡa ḡanha ḡ tῖp ḡo tῖp
 Innrim ḡiḡ mā ḡlacaiḡ ciall
 ḡo ḡfuil tuῖp ḡcior ḡleacḡa ḡac uaiῖ
 Ap nḡol i n-uaiḡ anoḡt le ḡpian.

XXIV

Samail ḡpian le tuile teann
 as corpḡad lann i ḡpēapḡiḡ ὁūp
 Samail ḡpian le leatḡan ann
 Ap ḡpāicpint pann as pῖleac pāl.

XXV

Samail ḡpian le Conn na ḡlac
 as tῖpall amac cum ḡeapḡad ap
 Samail ḡpian le macaoim macḡ
 Ap ḡpāicpuit naom nō ḡpeallan ḡāipḡ

XXVI

Samail ḡpian le Conn na pῖpian
 as ḡabail ḡiallac i ḡcpioḡaiḡ ḡpēas
 Samail ḡpian ap coirḡiḡt lām
 le ḡuapḡe an aiḡ as ḡponnacḡ pēacḡ

XXVII

Samail ùrman nì fàictear fearra
 a's rin a tairte fà'n sgruinne 'cà
 Stua's iomlàn nàp léar a loct
 1r iomda 'noct a caoinear é.

XXVIII

Oirde ùrman ar nòol or àrò
 Nì h-iongnad càic ceann so cìom
 1 sclàr t'eadh slan tìr Uí Néill
 A beic na d'éir 1r d'óib 1r cian.

XXIX

Ùrman nìac Colla ar nòol 1 sgré
 a's ro d'ib a mé so fìor
 Mìle bliadain a'sur pé céad
 Óa ceardad so léir fa naoi.
 (foirceann.)

SOURCES.

M.—O Lavery's MS. "F," written by Michael Murphy of Ardee in 1825. Neat, small, well-formed handwriting.

G.—O Lavery's MS. "I" 1788-1792. Mostly written by Denis Garrity.

B.—Bennett's MS. "C," written by Art Bennett about 1858.

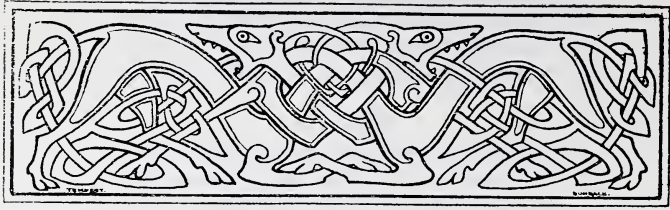
VARIANTS.

B.=BENNETT.

G.=GARRITY.

M.=MURPHY.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. 1. 1r cìom (M).
 2. noctar ùinn (M), le foillrighítear (B)
 3. uail-ghé (B).
 II. 1. dá tairte (M).
 2. do tús (B). San uir (B, G)
 III. 2. fìrvidh (B), fìrvidh (G).
 4. oilead óil (M).
 IV, V VI. Not in M.
 VII. 1. fà'sail not in B, G.
 4. fèadha (G), fèadha (B).
 VIII. 1. fa h-ionda t'eadh (B, G).
 2. na'c ar (G).
 3. d'ghròd (M), áille (B, G), 1r réime (B, G).
 IX. Not in M.
 1. na neardais (B).
 3. nuadai . . . ? (G)
 4. sàc nuadai (B).
 X. 2. 1 mór (M).
 4. ro for buó (B, G).
 XI. 1. ùrvidh (B). Verse not in M.
 XII. 1. do b'ionda m'airse so neardais 1 n-óir (B, G).
 2. dá noctad fòr le cleitib cìann (B, G).
 4. ó munnad nann (B, G).</p> | <p>XIII. 1. bliadé (B, G).
 2. na tìpe (B, G).
 3. ran mór (M).
 XIV. 2. b'uirghítear (B), do b'fà'stear (G).
 3. mac for nead (B, G), se sur (G).
 4. sear (M).
 XV. Not in M.
 XV. 3. nòmuir for ainuir (G).
 4. f'iar and f'oir (B).
 XVI. Not in M.
 4. na mbuidé (G).
 XVII. 4. so mbuidé (G), t'adair ar ùrman (B).
 XVIII. Not in M.
 1. ccibiread (G).
 4. c'eadt (B).
 XIX., XX. Not in M.
 XXI. 1. riublad (M).
 3. bair-bair (G), f'adair (B).
 XXII. 1. fa b'oir iúil (M).
 2. f'lad ro huir (G), b'ad huir (B).
 3. le muicéir (M).
 XXIII. 1. inriem (B), f'adair (B, G).
 XXV. 2. a's neardad (B, G).
 4. b'uirleann (B, G), b'uirleann (M).
 XXVI. 1. f'ail (B, G).
 XXVII. 4. ní mé san oc (B, G).
 XXVIII. 4. t'ad na d'ad (G).
 XXIX. 2. a's ro a mé do neardais uib (B, G).</p> |
|--|---|



Some Extracts from Irish State Papers.

[These extracts were copied from the Irish State Papers stored in the muniment room of the Dundalk Free Library by a busy business man some years ago. He is now too old to resume the interesting work which to his regret he is unable to continue. But he hopes that some younger "grubber" will take up the work of which the following are specimens, and he is sure the Editor will have pleasure in finding room in the next JOURNAL for the very interesting reading which is scattered through the pages of the valuable historical volumes lying mouldering on the shelves of the Free Library. There are also several volumes of the Journals of the Proceedings of the Irish House of Commons, containing a vast fund of local information, which if transferred to the JOURNAL would be of intense interest to the present-day student. The towns of Drogheda, Ardee, Dunleer, Carlingford, and Dundalk were so frequently mentioned in these "Acts" and "proceedings" that they must have been very prominent centres of industry—and unrest.]

EDWARD I.

1302, ARDEE. The King directs Brother Robert de St. John of Ardee, Constable of His Castles of Ardee and Dovenaghmayn, to deliver the Castles, &c., to the King or his attorney (157).

Pardon in Mortmain to the Prior and Brothers of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel of Ardee of their transgression in acquiring from the commonalty of Ardee one acre of land in that town (165).

Deed and grant by Ralph Pipard to John Pipard his son of the Castle and Manor de Atrio Dei [Ardee] Castellum Munitum (149).

1304. Roll of Payments. The Friars of the Order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel of Ardee for one year of the K.'s special grace, by Ralph Pipard, paid to Brother Walter le Hunte, £6 (306—page 108).

1303, DUNDALK.—Richard Bowere, merchant of Dundalk, for wines* taken from him at Carlisle for supplies of castle in Scotland. Paid to Richard by writs, patent and close, under the great seal of England, £100—(page 53).

1303, April 22.—Whereas the King is indebted to Richard Dover, merchant of Dundalk, in £100 for wines* taken from him in Carlisle, for supplies of castle in Scotland, the K. promises faithfully to satisfy said Richard out of the first moneys brought to the Exchequer, Dublin, after the feast of St. Michael next ensuing (page 206).

1306, April 26.—Writ of Liberate to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of Dublin.

[* The entries relative to the export of wine from County Louth ports are illustrated by the following interesting paragraph extracted from the preface to the lately published "Gormanstown Register," which Mr. Mills and Mr. MacEnery, Deputy Keepers of the Records, have edited for the Royal Society of Antiquaries. In explanation of the migration of the Preston family, the

founders of the house of Gormanstown, from Preston, Lancashire, to Drogheda as traders at the beginning of the fourteenth century—about 1305—the editors say :—

“ The rich plains to which Drogheda and Dublin offered access from the sea were at this time great wheat producing lands. The wars of Edward I had drawn freely on these parts for the supply of grain for the maintenance of the armies in Wales and Scotland, and even in Germany. The already extensive wine trade of Drogheda was further stimulated by large demands for supplies of wine for Edward's armies in his Scottish wars. These demands led to greatly increased traffic between Drogheda and Scotland and the north of England. Wine could be brought from Bordeaux more directly to Drogheda and thence to the military base at Carlisle or on the west coast of Scotland than by the use of any English port. The long continuance of these wars may well have given the impression to the Preston family that the trade centres were passing to the other side of the sea, and that the ports there offered a more extensive field for their energies, ambition and capital.”]

EDWARD I. LOUTH.

1303.—Pardon to Nicholas, Prior of St. Mary of Louth, of their transgression in acquiring a rent of 32s. 4½d. in Louth of the gift and feoffment of William Hamelyn, after the statute of Mortmain. Grant that the Prior may again have the land. This rent was taken into the K.'s hand by Walter l'Enfaunt and his associates, justices dinerent in eyre at Drogheda towards [of] Uriel (236-7).

Ralph Pippard, lord of the Manor of Dyssard. Anesus O Flyn holds 7 acres of land in Callyth. Thomas Colmer holds one curucate of land of the Betagii. There is there a fishery in the lake de Loghanyn.

Ralph Pippard had granted to the Friars of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel *del Atre Dieu* in Ireland certain rents in wheats and other commodities out of the Manor del Atre Dieu [Ardee], valued at £7 8s. 8d. Grant cancelled. Friars to receive £6 yearly.

1306.—For payments to Richard Cotyn and Thomas of Dundalk, providers of supplies at Drogheda towards Meath, of £200 for corn and supplies to be bought for the expedition of the K.'s affairs in Scotland [to buy wheat, malt and wines for the K.'s use, and sent to Skinburness]. (No. 581).

HENRY VIII. CARLINGFORD.

1531.—Grant by Sir Wm. Skeffington, Lord Deputy, to Martin Skryne of the office of Customier and Admiral of the port of Carlingford (8).

1537.—Crumwell to the High Conrs. Recommending that his servant Jerome [Hieronym] Lynne, keeper of the Castle of Carlingford, should have a lease of a farm in the vicinity at a reasonable rent (29 and 31).

1538.—Mathew Kyng desires the office of Carlingford jointly with Martin Pellys (40).

Martin Pellys desires the profits of Carlingford and Greencastle since the time he had the gift thereof until Michaelmas. Requests to have Rathmore in Ferney himself, if he may not have Carlingford to farm (45).

1538.—John Prowd to Worthesley. Thanks him for putting forth his bill for the office of Carlingford (43).

EDWARD VI. CARLINGFORD.

1547.—Dispensation to Peter Lewes, clerk, to hold the rectory of Mourne, Co. Down, together with Chaplain to Sir Anthony Sentledger, Lord Deputy of Ireland (78).

1549.—Nicholas Bagenall to the Lord Deputy Bellyngham. Piers Walsh had come to Carlingford with 70 kerne and ought to have had but 50. Received his secret letter by the hands of my lord of Louth. In Dundalk he met with the Lord of Louth, Sir James Garland, Bedlo, and the rest of the gentlemen of Uriel, who

agreed to send labourers for the Newrys which will be a check upon the Earl of Tyrone. Carlingford Castle and the Green Castle are in a wretched condition. Mr. Brereton and Mr. Brookys have great need of their wages. Bellyingham to induce Magennis to cut the great pass called Bullogh Enury [Bealac an Iubhair, the Newry Road.] Peter Lewys can give further particulars.

1552.—Grant to Marshal Sir Nicholas Bagenall of the lands of St. Mary's and St. Patrick's de le Newry, the Manor of Carlingford and an old castle there, and the whole demesne and manor of Mourne and Greencastle, and other lands surveyed at £199 10s. 4d. Irish, or £149 12s. 9d. sterling per annum (126).

1553.—Sir Nicholas Bagenall to the Privy Council. Is willing to surrender the Lordship of Carlingford at the King's desire. He has brought the same from the yearly value of £19 to £200 as it is now surveyed. (130).

ELIZABETH. DUNDALK.

1561.—Shane O Neill has quarrelled with the town of Dundalk for Henry O Neill's abode there. As Shane went homeward from Dundalk "Calle O Raylly take certain of his galloglas and strypt them oonely, whereuppon Shane toke up oone moneths vyetalls thinking to have goone uppon old O Rayly, and lay in the Brenny to that purpose certain dayes." Shane "requyreth to have the towne of Dundalk unto him, as the townes of the west be to therle of Desmond." Wingfield had like to have been taken as had also Pypho and two others—[Sir Jaques Wingfield to the Lord Lieut. Sussex] (166).

Wingfield was Master of the Ordnance, and Constable of Dublin Castle.

1561.—Shane O Neill to the Lord Lieutenant: "From his woods—Aug. 18. He will not grant peace to his subjects or urraghs but at his own option. But will not pursue them on the confines of Dundalk. He desires that the peace formerly concluded at Dundalk may be reviewed before he goes to the Queen (178).

August 26 [from his woods] —Shane O Neill to the Lord Lieut. Sussex. Insists that his own man shall go to the Queen for his pardon and protection.

Sept. 1.—Camp by Dundalk—Lord Lieut. Sussex to the Queen. Shane O Neill's obstinacy and refusal to make restitution to McRandal Boy.

Sept. 1.—Camp by Dundalk. Lord Lieut. to Cecil.

Sept. 5.—Armagh. Lord Lieut. Sussex to Cecil.

Sept. 9.—Camp by Slegallene—i.e., Slieve Gullen.

Sept. 21.—Camp by the Newry. Lord Lieut. and Council to the Queen.

1561.—Shane O Neill to the Lord Justice. Desires restitution—the Constable of Carlingford has spoiled his men (2) (173).

1562.—Lord Justice Fitzwylliams to the Queen. The young Baron of Dungannon or Tyrone (Brian) was slain April 12 between Carlingford and the Newry by Turlough Lynagh, accompanied by 100 horsemen (191).

Brief of Sir N. Bagenall's lands—viz., The Castle and Manor of Carlingford and Cowleye with fishing. The Castle and Manor of Greencastle and Mourne. The College of the Newry. The Friar house of Carlingford (192).

1564.—Lord Lieut. and Council to the Queen, in favour of the bearers Wm. O Carmyke and Wm. Arnot, Scots. The proceedings for restitution of their ship and wines taken from them in the haven of Carlingford by Ferdorough Magennis, under the rule of O Neill. O Neill refuses to restore the ship, &c., till he have restitution for the hurts done by McDonnell (232).

ELIZABETH. LOUTH.

1563.—George Gerland and George Parysh to Cecil, concerning the surrender

of Gerland's patent of Agher in favour of Parysh. Gerland to have of the Queen an equivalent from the house of St. John's of Ardee in the County of Louth (220).

1565.—Queen E. to the L. J. incloses letters from Mary Q. of Scots on behalf of Wm. Wauss, John Martyn, and Wm. Gordon, merchants of Wigtown, to have restitution of their ship, &c., spoiled in the haven of Carlingford by O'Neill and Ferdorrough Magennis; and commands Sir T. Cusake to deal in this matter (249).

1566.—Sir Nichols. Bagenall to the Earl of Leicester. Robbing, stealing and killing throughout the English Pale. Shane O'Neill has now all the countries from Sligo to C.-fergus, and from thence to Carlingford and from C.-ford to Drogheda . . . He never made peace with the Queen but by her own seeking. He would keep from O'Donnell his country and from Bagenall the Newry.

1566, Sept. 9.—Carrickbradaghe [Carrickbroad?] Shane O'Neill to John of Desmond: "The English have no other view but to subdue both the English and Irish Pale. The last three Deputies have broke the peace. They would have attacked John of Desmond only for Shane O'Neill. Now is the time for them both to set against the English (314).

MARY. ARDEE.

1558.—The Queen to the Lord Deputy Sussex. Touching the suits of the Primate Dowdall of Armagh. To take order for the new erection of the Priory or hospital of Ardee to be a hospital as it was before the Dissolution for the better relief of poor and sick people. To cause the house of the Friars of Ardee to be newly erected in the Queen's name. Sussex to suffer the Pte. of Armagh without Peril of the lands to exercise and use all manner of ecclesiastical censure against the disordered Irishry. To sell certain parcels of land to the Pte. to enable him to erect a college in the town of Termonfeckin (148).

ELIZABETH. DROGHEDA.

1566, Sept. 9 and 14.—Lord Deputy Sydney to the Privy Council. Siege of Dundalk. Valiant defence. Victuals arrived in Carlingford. £15,000 more wanted immediately.

Sept. 21.—The corn arrived at Carlingford is quite spoiled. New supplies wanted immediately.

1567.—Requests of Nicholas Taaffe to the Queen for a lease in reversion of 31 years of certain land of Christopher Eustace, late of Ballicotland, also of a piece of ground called Paynston in the parish of Dromyne, Co. Louth (356).

1567, Nov. 29.—DUNDALK. Commissioners appointed to hear causes of the north border:—T. Lord Louth, James Dowdall and Wm. Bathe.

Carlingford, Dec. 2.—From Sir Nichols. Bagenall to the Lords Justices:—Turlogh Lynagh has promised to go against the Scots. He is a great suitor to marry Bagenall's wife's sister. Offers that she shall have 20 Englishmen and 6 gentlewomen to wait on her. Bagenall would rather see her burned.

1568, Carlingford, Jan. 22.—Sir Nichols. Bagenall and Terence Danyell, both at Carlingford.



The Cathach of St. Columba.



PROFESSOR LAWLOR has once more laid students of Biblical textual criticism under a great debt of gratitude. Those who are acquainted with his "Chapters on the Book of Mulling" (1897), his facsimile edition of the "Psalter of Ricemarch" (1914), and his other numerous critical studies, will welcome his recent monograph on the *Cathach of Saint Columba* published last September by the Royal Irish Academy (*Proceedings*, vol. xxxiii, Section C, No. 11), for they will expect to find in it those same qualities of painstaking research, absolute accuracy and keen penetrative insight which characterise his former work, and they will not be disappointed.

The *Cathach*, it is perhaps well to mention, is a very fragmentary Latin Psalter formerly preserved in a metal shrine or *cumdach* which is still extant and of which a detailed description by Mr. E. C. Armstrong is appended to Prof. Lawlor's paper. This *cumdach* was constructed between 1062 and 1098 by a member of the O'Donnell clan. It contained a wooden box which was believed to preserve a relic of Saint Columba of Iona, and which it was considered unlawful to open. At the time of the treaty of Limerick the *cumdach* was taken to France, where it turned up at Paris in 1802. A few years later it was brought back to Ireland where Sir William Betham performed the unlawful operation of opening the box in which he found a fragment of a Latin Psalter. Betham's action led to a curious lawsuit, the result of which is not told by Dr. Lawlor.

The Psalter and *cumdach*, the property of the O'Donnell family of Newport, Co. Mayo, are now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

In its present condition the manuscript consists of 58 more or less mutilated parchment leaves which comprise Ps. xxx, 10 to cv, 13. The text is that of the Vulgate or Gallican version with a small admixture of pre-Hieronymian readings, and Dr. Lawlor has given us a complete reproduction of it, which will no doubt be taken into account by the Biblical Commission now engaged on the preparation of a critical text of the Vulgate. The peculiar spellings and actual mistakes are numerous, but it would be impossible to say at present whether the text of this manuscript will commend itself as of primary importance to the Commissioners. Its great antiquity will of course be an argument in its favour. An important section in Prof. Lawlor's study is the discussion of the Rubrics or Psalm-headings. Anyone who has seen the manuscript will readily admit that to a less experienced

reader of early Irish hands than the Editor the majority of these headings would have remained illegible. The subject of Psalm-headings in general is, it seems, one which calls for further investigation, and Dr. Lawlor laments that owing to the war he has been unable to get information about certain English and Continental manuscripts. May we hope that in happier times he will return to this subject and perhaps take the occasion to look into the Irish Psalters at Rouen (No. 24, of tenth century), St. Gallen (No. 15), Rome (Vatican, Pal. 65), etc. A study of certain other manuscripts not actually Irish, for example the Psalter of St. Salaberga at Berlin, would probably yield interesting results in this connection, and it would be well also to take into account a valuable note on the types of Psalter current in England and Ireland in the early middle ages contributed by Dom Wilmart to the *Revue Bénédictine* in 1911 (vol. 28, pp. 352-53).

Palæographically the Cathach does not present any specially remarkable features, and of the artistic work commonly seen in Irish manuscripts of early date it is practically devoid. Abbreviations and contractions are only very sparingly used, among them we find *diab* with a horizontal stroke through the upper shaft of the b. This is resolved by Dr. Lawlor as *diabsalmus* (i.e., *diapsalmus*). If I mistake not the lexicons give only *diapsalma*. In general it may be said that the hand is a good one, but that there are many errors. Dr. Lawlor says he has counted more than 250. These latter are not to be attributed to incompetence or carelessness on the part of the scribe, but rather to the fact that "he was working at unusually high pressure." Perhaps the most difficult problem connected with the Cathach is the question of its date. The study of the Rubrics leads Dr. Lawlor to the conclusion—very doubtful it is true—that the manuscript from which they were copied by the scribe of the Cathach was as early as the sixth century. Palæography unfortunately does not afford us much help in this matter, and one is left somewhat disconcerted after perusing the Appendix on "The Script of the Cathach" contributed by Professor W. M. Lindsay. "A palæographer of last century," says Mr. Lindsay, "would probably assign the script to about 700 A.D." The writer is probably alluding to the opinion of Maunde Thompson, the greatest of English palæographers, who in his valuable "Introduction to Greek and Latin Palæography," published in 1912, expressed the view (p. 372) that the "Psalter traditionally ascribed to St. Columba" was to be placed in the latter part of the seventh century.¹ Dr. Todd went even further and declared,² "I think it is about 200 years later than his (St. Columba's) time." But the views of Todd, Warren, and Thompson are passed over in complete silence by Messrs. Lindsay and Lawlor. In the note on p. 399 dealing with the "Gospels of Boniface" Mr. Lindsay refers to the views of "experts in ZCP, viii, 174." On looking up the reference we find that the "experts" are none other than Prof. Kuno Meyer. This singular method of referring to an eminent scholar possibly finds its explanation in the fact that a little further on (p. 405) the late Prof. Zimmer is termed "the German iconoclast." The summing up of Mr. Lindsay's remarks seems to lead us to this conclusion that *as far as palæography alone* can at present tell the Cathach might have been written in the sixth, or in the seventh, or even in the eighth century.

Some interesting notes on "The Colophon of the Durrow Book" are appended by Mr. Lindsay, who dates the volume at "not much before 700." It is a pity that he should entirely ignore the ingenious arguments of Prof. Macalister (*Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, 1913, pp. 301-302), which tend to prove

¹ The same view had been previously expressed by Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, i, 1893, p. xxii.

² *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, Cambridge, vol. i, 1854, p. 262.

that both the Books of Kells and Durrow were written in the beginning or middle of the ninth century. Further support for Mr. Macalister's theory is advanced by Sir Edward Sullivan (*The Book of Kells*, 1914, pp. 22, 26, 30), and if Mr. Middleton (*Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Mediæval Times*, 1892, p. 84) is correct in seeing a strong Arabic influence in these highly ornamented Celtic books, that certainly would point to the Carolingian epoch.

We can heartily re-echo Mr. Lindsay's concluding words,¹ "Let us hope that Dr. Lawlor will submit the Durrow Book to the same minute analysis as the Cathach has now received from him, and settle all our doubts."

Failing to solve the problem of the date of the Cathach from palæographical data, Dr. Lawlor has attacked it from another point of view—that of its traditional history. Unfortunately, for this latter we have to rely on passages in the *Life of St. Columba*, compiled in 1532 by Manus O'Donnell—a work which Dr. Lawlor admits to be historically of the slenderest value. It would be impossible here to follow him through the forty pages which he devotes to the discussion of these passages, and it must suffice to say that by a series of the most daring and ingenious permutations and combinations of the type that one used to associate with the name of Mr. Lindsay's "German iconoclast," he has succeeded in evolving a theory, which, if I have gathered it correctly, may be summarised thus:—

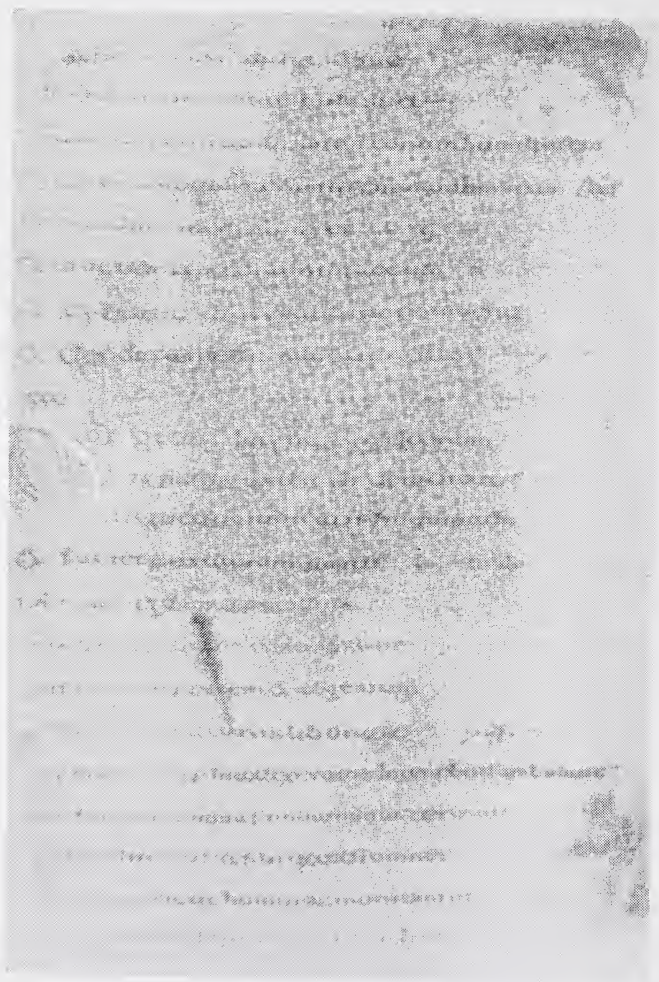
Towards the middle of the sixth century St. Finnian of Moville returns from a visit to Rome bringing with him a copy of St. Jerome's translation of the Bible, or a part of it. Prior to this event the Vulgate had not been known in Ireland, but only the Old-Latin Version. Columba pays a visit to Finnian, his former teacher, apparently at Dromin in Co. Louth. He borrows the precious exemplar of the Vulgate, and against the wish of its owner hurriedly makes a surreptitious transcript of it. Detected in the course of this operation he refuses obstinately to give up his transcript to the irate Finnian. Finally at Columba's own suggestion they agree to submit the dispute to the arbitration of the King of Ireland. The latter decides against Columba, who promptly shows his superior *Kultur* by treating his agreement as a scrap of paper. Ultimately a great battle takes place at Cul Dremhne, near Sligo, between the supporters of the King and those of Columba, in which the King is defeated with great loss. Columba, however, owing to the slaughter for which he has been responsible, falls into disfavour with the ecclesiastics of Ireland and retires in penance to Scotland. The battle took place in 561 according to the Annals, and consequently our Psalter must have been written in or shortly before that year. In addition we possess in the Gospel-Book of Durrow a later copy of another portion of Columba's transcript of the precious Finnian exemplar.

Such is Dr. Lawlor's attractive theory. It is put forward with a wealth of learning and a minute accuracy of detail, so that it is only with the utmost diffidence that we venture to make the following remarks.

At p. 315 Dr. Lawlor cites "the second Life of St. Finnian, printed by Colgan" in order to prove his assumption that Finnian was the first to introduce the Vulgate into Ireland. Now the tract printed by Colgan is not a Life of St. Finnian of Moville, but a Life of St. Fridian of Lucca, which, as Seebass (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xiv, 1894, p. 437) has pointed out, is a late and absolutely valueless recension of a shorter Life itself written after 1171. Moreover, there is no proof of the oft-assumed theory that St. Finnian of Moville and St. Fridian of Lucca were one and the same personage.²

¹ Mr. Lindsay had previously dealt with the Cathach in his *Notæ Latinæ*, 1915, p. 454.

² See on this point Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés Celtiques*, 1911, p. 253



FACSIMILE PAGE OF CATHACH, folio 41.

(From Photo lent by Mr. Esposito.)

Dr. Lawlor has, in addition, apparently overlooked the fact that Dom Chapman (*Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908, pp. 178-180) has argued that the Vulgate was introduced into Ireland—from Levens by St. Patrick—a century before Finnian's time.

According to Dr. Lawlor's theory Columba was so enamoured of Jerome's Vulgate that he insisted on making a copy of it with his own hand in the years 560 or 561. Is it not then strange to find that in the "Altus Prosator," a poem written in barbarous Latinity and composed according to Archbishop Bernard, who has given us a most excellent edition of it, after the year 587 (*Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ii, 1898, p. 140), Columba should have used both in the Old and New Testament the Old-Latin Version current before Jerome's time? This latter fact has been abundantly demonstrated by the learned Archbishop (*op. cit.*, p. 144).

It only remains to add that as Appendix iii Dr. Lawlor has given us an edition of the tract "De Causa Peregrinationis S. Columbæ," and that the monograph is illustrated with two photographic facsimiles, one of folio 52 recto¹ of the Cathach, the other of a page of a manuscript belonging to the National Library of Turin, from the script of which Mr. Lindsay has drawn some interesting inferences. Several reproductions of the different parts of the *cumdach* are also given.

Should the views of Messrs. Lawlor and Lindsay meet with confirmation, we should have in the Cathach not only the earliest specimen of Irish handwriting in existence, but also the autograph of one of Ireland's greatest saints.

M. ESPOSITO.

¹ The photograph accompanying the present note represents folio 41 verso of the Cathach. It was taken several years ago by my friend Mr. A. MacCallum.



The Co. Louth Ordnance Survey Letters, 1835-6.

(Transcribed from the Originals in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin,
under direction of the late Major General Stubbs, R.A.)

PRELIMINARY MEMORANDUM

BY JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, M.A., M.R.I.A., F.SS.A.

IRELAND has been a much mapped country, mainly on account of the numerous changes in the ownership of land.

Anyone desirous of studying the history of Early Surveys in Ireland should consult the numerous papers on the subject by Mr. W. H. Hardinge, Treasurer of the Royal Irish Academy (in which office I succeeded him) published by that body, particularly one read 9 Dec., 1861, on MS. Mapped Townland Surveys in Ireland, printed in the Proceedings, vol. viii, pp. 39-55, and his papers published in the Transactions of the same, vol. xxiv (3)3, and 265.

Larcom's History of the "Down" Survey, which he edited from a MS by Sir W. Petty, written in 1655, forms a thick 4to volume issued in 1851, which was the last publication of the Irish Archæological Society.

It is a mistake very prevalent to suppose that there were no good maps of Ireland before the Government Series now known as the Ordnance Survey. The County Maps engraved under the supervision of Sir William Petty and his staff and the earlier results of their labours embodied in the "Down" Survey (of which there has been a recent re-issue) are still well known. The Dublin Public Record Office has a vast collection relating to this work.

But much confusion existed as to boundaries and nomenclature, which in the eighteenth century led to the publication of many maps founded on surveys made by private surveyors. The late Dr. Willis of Ormond Quay, Dublin, formed a large collection of these, which after his death was dispersed by auction. Many such passed to the National Library, in Leinster Lawn, the authorities of which devoted much attention to them. Trinity College Library already possessed a large collection, a list of which can be consulted in the printed and published Catalogue (1900). But, out of the great "Fagel" Collection, which fills 438 pages and comprises 1631 maps and plans of places in almost every part of the world then known in Holland, only four (p. 498) relate to Ireland! One item, however, No. 1080 in the Catalogue, is a host in itself, being "A Catalogue of Irish Maps and Surveys" by Bishop Reeves. I had some hand in this compilation, and was instrumental in securing it for the Library of T.C.D. I must leave those who wish to know all about Maps of Ireland in general to consult this and such printed books as Beaufort's Memoir of a Map of Ireland, 1792.

That versatile virtuoso, Sir Wm. Petty, who wrote in Latin as well as in English, brought out under the title "*Hiberniæ Delineatio quoad hactenus licuit perfectissima*" his Irish Atlas, consisting of 36 engraved folio maps printed in London from copper plates in 1685. In the British Museum Library there are two sets, one coloured, consisting of 36 maps, another uncoloured, without Petty's portrait and the first five maps differing from those in the former—viz., "A Generall Mapp of Ireland, Leinster, Munster, Ulster, Connought, all published by W. Berry and containing in addition a New Map of Ireland by R. Lea and H. Moll." The other Maps were those of Irish Counties, Louth and Dublin being combined. A copy is in

Mr. Balfour's Library at Townley Hall. Copies originally issued at 50/- in quires, sold at auctions, as recorded in Bohn's Lowndes' Bibliographers Manual, for £8 8s., £9, £7 10s., and 69s.

A duodecimo undated corrected and amended version of this "Engraven and published by Francis Lamb" was brought out in London under the title "A Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Ireland." This rare little volume contains 32 county maps, 4 provincial, and 1 general, "to which is added a map of Great Britain and Ireland, together with an Index of the whole."

Before the era of railways, and when printing was rare, there existed a numerous class of publications known as Road-books or Post-chaise Companions. Though not entitled to be described as Maps they showed local topography usefully and were usually engraved from copper plates. A bibliographical account of these, including many Irish items, appeared in the last annual volume published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland last year. A considerable collection is in the Library of Mrs. Fortescue, at Stephenstown, Dundalk.

But my concern now is only with Maps of the County Louth between the Down and the Ordnance. The earliest of these is "A Topographical MAP of the COUNTY OF LOUTH, By Mattw. Wren, 1766," which was "Printed and Sold by Andw. Dury in Duke's Court, near St. Martin's Church, LONDON." I possess a coloured copy mounted on linen, which was given to me by Bishop Reeves, who knew of no other copy, and the only other one I know of is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy and is unmounted and uncoloured in 4 sheets about 20 in. wide and 24 high. There is no mention of this map in Beaufort's Memoir, 1792. So as this map is extremely rare I add a few particulars. A note at top summarizes the contents of the County, and says:—"The Baroneys are taken from Sir Wm. Petty's Surveys." In my copy these are thus coloured:—Ardee and Louth, as one, pink; Ferrard, green; between Dundalk (undivided) and 'The Liberty of Drogheda,' both yellow. Scales of English and Irish miles are given and show that the map is at the scale of two inches to the Irish mile. At the bottom corner are shown, besides an elegantly dressed surveyor rolling his wheel, the Boyne with the Obelisk (not long erected) and a mansion with a portico of 4 pillars beside a square tower with a straight wide avenue, bordered by trees, leading down to the river. Could this be intended for Oriel Temple, or is it merely fanciful? Above it is a dedication "To the Noblemen, Knights of the Shire and Gentlemen of the County of Louth." The references include (so-called) "Danish" Mounds and Forts. B.G. in square 3 = Bleach Green. "Mira" Castle represents what is now known as Moiry. Kilsaran burial ground is shown, but not the church. Mountains are strongly defined and elevations of some houses and churches shown—Mellifont very curiously. The County boundaries to the west are rather indefinite.

Eleven years later another Map of the County of Louth was produced by private enterprise in London. It was surveyed by George Taylor and Andrew Skinner and engraved by G. Terry, No. 54 Paternoster Row, Cheapside, MDCCLXXVII, and inscribed "with gratitude and respect to John Foster, Esquire, Knight of the Shire for the County." In the margin at foot (usually cut off in mounting) it is said to be "Published as the Act directs, 28th Sept., 1778. Sold by Mrs. Dury, Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane; And by W. Wilson, No. 6 Dame Street, Dublin." Like its predecessor the Map of M. Wren, it is engraved on 4 sheets 22½ ins. wide and 28½ high, making a map 40 by 52 in. within the engraved lines. The scale and general plan are the same as Wren's, but, unlike his, the County is shown due North and South. In the S.E. corner is given a table of Distances in Irish miles and furlongs from Dundalk (15), Dunleer (5), Drogheda (5), Ardee (2) and Collon (1). This map is so well known that more elaborate description is unnecessary, but it may be worth noting that the chief demesnes shown are "Oriel, The Ld. Chief Baron

Foster's," those of the Earls of Clanbrassil and Clermont, and Glidemouth Castle (Dillons), which laet, now unknown, with a straight planted avenue leading to the sea near Annagassan (then houseless) is shown in Salterstown parish, described as part of the Lordship of Mellifont. The Parish of Marlstown and church in ruins are shown and Marly, but not Rokeby. The Mrs Dury who sold this map was probably widow of Andrew Dury who not only sold but printed Wren's Map of the County in 1766.

The great Topographical Dictionary of the three Kingdoms by Samuel Lewis was commenced by the publication in London in 1831-3 of 4 volumes for England and in the latter year followed 2 volumes for Wales. Four years later 2 for Ireland were published (with which we are chiefly concerned), and nine years later the work was completed by the publication of 2 more volumes for Scotland. These 10 volumes, published by S. Lewis & Co., 87 Aldersgate Street, in the course of those 15 years were issued in two sizes, 4to and royal 4to. The price in guineas was for the former size two each (£21), and for the latter $\frac{1}{2}$ or more extra (£26 5s. *od.*). Strange to say the Irish volumes have no mention of the Atlas in the preface, but an advertisement at the end of vol. 2 says the Irish one was extra 3 guineas, or to subscribers to the Dictionary 2 guineas, and $\frac{1}{2}$ more if coloured. So the cheapest issue for Ireland cost £6 6s. It now sells for about twice as many shillings. This falling off is not entirely attributable to its being out of date (for it is still a valuable work of reference) but to the enormous number of persons who subscribed for copies. The list of subscribers printed in volume I is a notable one. It is headed by 8 Sovereigns and gives names and addresses which I count as 9,840. So the cheaper issue of the Irish portion alone should have produced no less than the enormous sum of £72,492. The delay in issue and other reasons caused countless law suits. The Atlas is all engraved on steel plates by I. Power, Pentonville, London. Drawn by R. Creighton from the Ordnance and other Surveys. It consists of a large folding map of Ireland followed in alphabetical order by those of the 32 counties, done to different scales to fit into 4to pages. This was published separately 27th September, 1837. The Ordnance Survey was only in its infancy, so this reference is interesting. As to the work of Lewis—see *The Dublin University Magazine*, xii., 226-'32.

Of course Lewis's Maps and the several others after the Down Survey were simply private undertakings, so as it became of importance to provide Maps constructed from official sources, the Government in office at the time of Lewis's publications—perhaps at his suggestion—decided to embark on a survey of a comprehensive scale, and the work was entrusted to the Royal Engineers, who still carry on the revisions and have a local habitation at Mountjoy Barracks in the Phoenix Park, where all the records were stored and some still are.

Captain Larcom, R.E., afterwards well known as the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and who was later created a Baronet, was placed in charge of the work which he supervised with great efficiency. It was necessary not only to carry out the regular surveying work but to ascertain the most correct forms of the local names and to determine the boundaries, which were often doubtful. For this purpose a large staff of itinerant Irish-speaking investigators was employed. Some working at headquarters took extracts from Annals which now fill many volumes for the several counties labelled "Antiquities"—these are place-name references from the various published volumes of Annals of the Four Masters, &c. Others travelled through the different counties noting place-names, &c., &c., which they embodied in Letters sent to Captain Larcom, and now bound in many volumes. After being long practically inaccessible the Government had these arranged according to counties and indexed in MS. and presented to the Royal Irish Academy. We begin in this number the first instalment of the Letters relating to County Louth from a copy procured by Major General Stubbs. Besides these Antiquities and Letters

there was a large series of field note-books with particulars of names, boundaries, owners and often rents paid. These were considered confidential and were not issued, but I have a copy for Co. Louth.

The County Louth investigation was entrusted to T. O'Keeffe and T. O'Connor, except the Carlingford portion, which was made by the eminent Irish scholar John O'Donovan, apparently because of the two O.'s, as he calls them, having gone "on a spree." The letters are very uneven in character, and embody a good deal of gossip derived from local wiseacres. The names of places were determined mainly from these with scant reference to printed authorities. As a rule the best forms were arrived at, but some unfortunate mistakes were made. These would be too numerous to mention and would entail controversy, but I am tempted to refer to the name assigned to the village my post comes from. In reliance on an ill-founded tradition that it had belonged to Lord Mansfield (Lord Chancellor of England, but deprived of office) it was entered as Mansfieldstown: the fact being that the name was derived from the De Mandevilles, as to whom see Rev. J. B. Leslie's *History of Kilsaran*. The name still lingers in Dundalk and supplies a second title to the Duke of Manchester. The Surveyors of the Down Survey, perhaps enjoying the joke, entered it in three lines as Man—Devil's—Town! Another apparent joke of theirs, but this time based on error, was entering Mapastown. as Mappers-Town, perhaps to magnify their own office. But the name was probably derived from De Maupas, who figured in Louth history in connection with Bruce's invasion.

So far as I know only two other sets of the Survey Letters have as yet been printed, namely those for the County Down, which were issued in the *Journal of the Irish Librarians*, where they are practically unknown, and those of County Westmeath, published by the patriotic enterprise of Mr. Thomas Shaw, J.P., Mullingar.

NOTE BY THE EDITORS.

The transcript of the original in the R.I.A. Library, Dublin, from which these County Louth Letters have been printed was made by a lady employed by the late Major-General F.W. Stubbs, R.A. The dates and addresses of the letters are omitted as they appear in the Index prefixed. The lists of parish families, omitted from the transcripts, will be inserted. The General gave this copy to Mr. Garstin with his collection of manuscripts relating to the County, and they are all now at Braganstown.

The footnotes are O'Keeffe and O'Connor's, except where F.W.S. is appended to mark the annotations of Major General Stubbs.

Notes in square brackets are added by the Editor of the JOURNAL.

In this following transcript the order in which some of the earlier letters were written has been departed from. As will be seen from the table of contents prefixed the first letter treated of Monasterboice Parish, the second of Ballymakenny and St. Peter's, Drogheda, and the third of St. Mary's. We have thought it better to arrange the letters according to locality, and have thus begun with St. Mary's Parish, Drogheda, the most southern part of the County, and thence advanced northwards—St. Peter's, Drogheda, Ballymakenny, Bewly. and so on. It may be worth observing that though Drogheda at the time was a county of a town in itself, and so remained until merged in the County of Louth by the Local Government Act of 1898, it is not treated in these letters as a separate entity.

Though these letters included so much shallow verbose theorising among the useful information they collected, the investigators, Messrs. O'Keeffe and O'Connor, seem to have pursued their inquiries industriously. The whole of the County was visited, explored, and reported upon as is seen, within ten weeks, the first letter having been written from Drogheda on 19th December, 1835. This was followed up by two letters each week, as they moved northwards through the county, till the last concluding one sent by O'Donovan from Carlingford, on 24th of February, 1836.

It will doubtless be thought that much of the matter here printed is unworthy of reproduction for its petty prolixity, and that it all needs annotation. But the reader is given the letters for what they are worth, and as the varying value of their information and suggestions are so obvious, it is believed that it would be more satisfactory to readers to have the full text: tedious and silly as so much of these first letters is.

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ST. MARY'S, DROGHEDA.

We commence first by describing the boundary of the County of the city of Drogheda, or, in other words, of the Liberties¹ of Drogheda, as it is given to us by Joseph Kearns,² Surveyor for the Corporation of Drogheda. We first got the boundary defined for us by him, and then according as we proceeded with getting the names of the T.L. in the adjacent parishes, we enquired how far the Liberties extended, and by what townlands in each parish they were bounded, until by going the whole circuit, we proved the boundary given by Kearns to be the correct one. No one man in the county could tell us the boundary, except of a short extent, with which he happened to be acquainted. We made use of the instructions of Kearns merely as a clue to question several as occasion offered, and we find that the boundary as given by him concurs accurately with that pointed out to us by several others, who from their residing in the townlands, which bound it, or contiguous to which its boundary lies, could be expected to be well acquainted with it. That part of the County of the City of Drogheda lying on the north of the river Boyne and adjoining the County of Louth is bounded on the west side of the town, at about the distance of 40 perches, from West Gate, by the lands of Mell, and Danerath (now Hill of Rath) in the Parish of Mellifont, for the space of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles—then the T.L. of Balgatheran in said Parish completes its western boundary. It is bounded on the north by the Parish of Monasterboice and Tullyoskar T.L. in the Parish of Ballymakenny, and by Philipstown Parish. On the east it is bounded by Cartown as far as Blackstaff Bridge in Dunrath T.L., Parish of S. P., 3 miles from Drogheda on the road leading from Bewly, and thence by that road for about 1 mile, it turns off towards the west for $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, from that it extends the distance of 1 mile to the Boyne at Greenhill's Bridge, bounded by Newtownstalaban (in Mellifont Parish), the estate of Lord Moore of Mellifont. On the south side of the Boyne, adjoining the County of Meath, nearly opposite to Greenhill's Bridge, it is narrowed into a point extending about 40 perches, which lie on the north side of the hill, and from that it continues to extend southwards as far as the Balbrigan road (about 1 mile from Drogheda), which bounds it for the distance of 1 mile, the *Beabeg*³ T.L. (the estate of Henry Smith, brother of St. George of Drogheda⁴) and *Beamore*, which forms its uttermost southern boundary. On the west it is bounded by Plattan T.L. and by *Rathmullin* as far as the Boyne. The County of the City of Drogheda, on the north of the Boyne, adjoining County of Louth, contains the Parish of St. Peter and part of Ballymakenny Parish—viz., that part of Ballymakenny T.L. which is bounded on the north by Philipstown Parish, east by Bailly Park, south by D'da. and west by Philipstown, and that portion which is bounded on the north, by Drumshallen and Termonfecken Phs., on the east by Cartown T.L., on the south by Carntown T.L., and on the W. by *Collarstown* T.L. and Drumshallen Parish, and Carntown T.L. in B'makenny Parish,—and on the south side adjoining Meath Co. it contains the Parish of S. Mary. It contains about 1,830 acres in toto, 500 of which lie on the south side of the Boyne—the people speaking of Drogheda as divided by the river Boyne, always say that the part of it on the south side of the river does not belong to the Co. of Louth, but to Meath, placing the part on the north of the river in the

¹ Λιβεραριόε αν Όποιόεε.

² The famous Armstrong, late of this town, is his nephew by his sister.

³ In County Meath.

⁴ In County Down.

County of Louth,—but when speaking of Drogheda comprehensively, they say that Drogheda, together with the liberties attached to it, is a County in itself, and look upon the County of Louth as altogether distinct from them both. Drogheda, situated on the river Boyne about 4 miles from the sea to the west, is commonly called *Ἵριόετ* (pron. dra-eth) the *a* like *a* in *blade*, literally signifying *Bridge*, or *Ἵριόετ ἀτά*, literally *Bridge of the ford*.

Ἵριόετ is the name most commonly used both by the inhabitants, who speak Irish, and by those who live in its immediate vicinity—but if they be asked the name of Drogheda in Irish—they answer *Ἵριόετ ἀτά*, which they thus explain,—saying *Ἵριόετ* signifies a *Bridge* and *ἀτ* (they never pronounce it *ἀτά* on this occasion) signifies a *ford*—the Bridge built within the town over the *Boyne* gave the town the name of *Ἵριόετ*, because it is supposed the first houses of it were built convenient to this Bridge, and the water of the Boyne flowing under the Bridge is called *ἀτ*=*a ford*, which is sometimes postfixed to *Ἵριόετ*, making the compound name *Ἵριόετ ἀτά*. Those who live at a far distance from it call it always by the last name. There are other ancient names of it still retained by some persons. Sarsfield,¹ whom we have mentioned on our former letters, says the ancient name of it was *Δε Ὀυρρυάριε*, and Jones¹ says the ancient name of it was *Ὀυν Οὐρρυάριε*, and that of Dundalk was *Ὀυν Ὀεατζαν*: pron. not *an* [sic]. Others say it was called *Treda* prior to it having got the denomination of *Drogheda*—if it was so-called, *Treda* seems to have been the first Anglicized name of it. *Droichet atha* (*Ἵριόετ ἀτά*) occurs in several places in the Annals of the Four Masters. . . .

In *Acta Sanctorum*, page 652, col. 1; we find it called *Pontana* “in Monasterio Mellifontensi (aut de Mellifont?) Juxta *Pontanam*.” And again in *Triad Thau.*, page 309, col. 1, where the Four Mas: are quoted in support of the assertion, that a Synod was held in the year 1157—at the Monastery of Mellifont—it is thus said: “Also the Four Mas. agree every where concerning the same Synod,” writing thus under the same year—“A Synodal Convention by the clergy of Ireland, and some Kings and Princes *apud monasterium pontanense* (literally at the monastery of *Pontana*, signifying the town or city of the Bridge) “for so they call the monastery of Mellifont, because it is situated *near Pontanam*.”—Tr. Th. (as above) (by which is signified *Drogheda*) “to consecrate the Church of the same monastery, etc.” *Pontana* would be thus explained by grammarians according to their rules—they would call *Pontana*, a noun substantive—because it is the name of a place, and they would further urge that *Pontana* is not properly a noun-substantive, but what they call an adjective in the fem. gender having a substantive understood (viz., *civitas vel urbs*) with which it agrees in gender, number, and case, etc. We find that *urbs*, a Latin word, which signifies “*a city*.” Perhaps they who formed the name *Pontana* intended to have *civitas* understood to it—which originally signifies *a State*—sometimes *the freedom or privilege of a citizen*, seldom city; any one acquainted with application of words in the A.S. and Tr. Th. would be more inclined to think *civitas* was the word intended to be the associate of *Pontana*. The signification of *Pontana* is *of or belonging to a bridge*, formed from *pons*, which signifies a *Bridge*—Hibernice *Ἵριόετ*, let us now ask what is *or belonging to the Bridge?* (*the* is used in this query to limit, or rather point out some particular Bridge, viz., *pons urbis aut civitatis*—*the bridge of the town or city*—from which *Pontana* is formed serving to describe the *town or city* thus—*urbs pontana aut civitas pontana*—Anglice—*the town or city of the Bridge* called now Anglice—*Drogheda*, Latine—*Pontana*, Hibernice *Ἵριόετ* or *Ἵριόετ ἀτά* (*Bridge* or *Bridge of the ford*, i.e., *Town of*, etc. So much for the name of Drogheda

¹ Are these names preserved in any document?

We proceed now to take notice of what vestiges remain of the objects for which the town from an early period is most notable, and first of its walls:

The Wall—commonly called *the Town Wall*, which formerly environed it, has almost disappeared. Some detached portions of it remain still in different parts of the town, where they serve to enclose partly—either a garden, or a yard attached to a house, or a churchyard, as may be seen at St. Mary's Church, to the south of the Boyne, where a portion of the town wall (so called) encloses the churchyard to the south side. The seven gates on this wall, said to be shut at the hour of 12 o'clock every night, according to custom, have all except Laurence's gate been destroyed as well as the wall—their names and situations are yet remembered—the four first mentioned here, are to the north of the Boyne, the other three to the south:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| { | 1. West Gate—to the west of the Town. |
| | 2. New gate—to the north. |
| | 3. Sunday's gate—to the N.E. |
| | 4. Laurence's gate ¹ „ „ E. |
| | 5. Dublin gate „ „ E. |
| | 6. Duleek gate „ „ S. |
| | 7. John's gate „ „ W. |

The principal streets are—

To the north of the Boyne.	{	West St.
		Laurence's St.
		Fair St.
		Shop St.
		Peter's St. ²
		Dyer St.
		Stockwell Lane.
South of Boyne.	{	James St.
		John's St.

To the north of the Town, near Sunday's gate, is the tower of a church called (Mary) Magdalen's Steeple. It is said to belong to a church dedicated to that Saint. There is no remains of the church except the tower, the lower part of which is somewhat injured, and near the summit of the south hill is a breach, which, the people say, was made by a cannon that Cromwell planted in a mount in the Parish of S. Mary to the south of the Boyne—this is since called Cromwell's Mount.

Old Abbey. Situated in Abbey Lane, W. of W. Linen Hall St., about 15 Irish perches to the north of the Boyne—is called by no other name than that of *Abbey—the Abbey—the old Abbey—an abbey—an orcan abbey, etc.* Its whole length, from the eastern gable to a detached portion of a wall at the west end, said to belong to it, is about 60 yards—its breadth is about 8 yards—the highest part of the side walls is about 18 or 20 feet. They appear to have been repaired in some parts. the summit of the eastern gable and part of the northern side wall is demolished. On the gable to the west is a tower, partly demolished. The space within the walls being accessible by two large pointed arches in the gables, has the same appearance with the rest of the lane. The tower, is said by the people, to have been used as a belfry. There is no tradition among the people respecting the period at which

¹ Laurence gate is still in good preservation.

² *St. of the Pillars.* In this street there were pillars to which were fixed stocks (so called) where delinquents were yoked as a punishment. [Pillory street is the traditional earlier name].

this abbey was founded, nor is there anything relating to it now remembered, as far as we can find, for we have made all enquiries possible about it.

To the south of the Boyne, outside the suburbs of the Town, is the Protestant Church of St. Mary's Parish. The south side of the churchyard is enclosed by a part of the old *Town Wall*, as we have said on a former occasion. Within it to the south of the new church are old walls—said to belong to the old Protestant Church, or at least, it is said, it was used as a Protestant Church, but that the walls were originally belonging to the old Chapel, which was also called Mary's Church—*Teampull Mairíe*—from which the Parish derived its name. The gable to the south is still perfect and has a chimney or some passage admitting light downwards, which circumstance occasioned us to think it was but a vestry—(so now called) belonging either to the old Protestant Church, or to the original Chapel or Church of S. Mary—this is also said by many others. The side walls retain their original height, about 12 or 13 feet, but not their length. The gable to the north is totally demolished. The whole length, as it stood first, as well as we can guess, is about 21 feet, and breadth about 12 feet. There are within the burial ground no inscriptions or epitaphs earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century.

Cromwell's Mount. *Μότα Κρόμγουιλ*, in the townland of Bryanstown—*Βαίτε Βρίδιαν*—to the south of the Boyne, within a few perches to the rear of where the *Town Wall* is said to have been, is levelled almost with the ground and under cultivation as well as the field in which it is. This is the mote from which Cromwell made the breach on (Mary) Magdalen's Steeple.

The Boyne—now called *Δη Βόιν* or *Δβαιν νά Βόινε*; pron. *ó-uín ó-uinn*—is remembered by some to have been formerly called *Ινβέαρ Κολπα*—a name which is derived from the King of Spain's son, who was called *Colpa*, having been killed and thrown in a wicker hamper into it. Colpa was taken up and interred in the churchyard of Colpe (pron. Cope) Ph. in the County of Meath—which church having taken its name from Colpa's grave being there, gave name to the Parish likewise. This Parish is partly the boundary of the Parish of St. Mary to the south. The church is about a mile and $\frac{3}{4}$ from Drogheda; a rude stone bearing no sign of the hero who lay under it was placed over Colpa's grave. About 40 years ago a man surnamed Divens, a native of the Parish, who was a stonemason by trade and a *handy* man, summoning all the skill he was possessed of, cut on it the coat of arms of his country (Spain), which in some measure rescues him from being totally concealed under the impenetrable veil of oblivion. . . .

. . . We wish to remark about the name of Mellifont. The people always call it *Μυμυρτεαρ* (*Μυμυρτίρ*) *μορ νά μ-βραζαρ* (pron. *bra-ar*); they know nothing about the signification of Mellifont. There is a townland called the lands of *Mell*, the estate of the Moores of Mellifont, which is shewn in the beginning of this letter to be partly the boundary of the Co. of the T. of Drogheda to the west (as far as the Boyne), this is called by the people *Βεϊττε*, and they say *Βεϊττε* is a man's surname or a family name, who formerly possessed this land. They say *Seon Βεϊττε* (John Bell) and *πατραιε Βεϊττε* (Patrick Bell), and when they omit the Christian name they say *Βεϊττεαςαε*, or *αν Βεϊττεαςαε*. They say *ταταμ*, or *πατρ-πατραιε* *νο Σεοιν Βεϊττε*—the land or field of Patrick, or of John Bell, etc.¹ This name is considerably prevalent as a family certainly in the Co. of Louth. One would be inclined to think this was first called *Ταταμ Βεϊττε*, or most probably *Ταταμ* or *Βαίτε μβεϊττε* or *νά μβεϊττεο*, or *μ-βεϊττεαςαε* = the land or the townland of the family name) then by omitting the words *ταταμ* (land), or *βαίτε* (a town)—(a frequent custom)—the *μ* brought in to eclipse the *β* (or "to mortify it") was still retained,

¹ We give these examples merely to show how they apply the words on such occasions.

which accounts in our opinion for the name *Mell* (mell sounds sweeter ; it signifies *honey* in L. G. and in I., whereas *mell* in E signifies a *noisy thing* and in F. also ?). Is there any analogy between this and *Mell* in Mellifont ? We put this query in order that we have sent us anything that may be calculated to aid in accounting for the name of Mellifont before we go there. We hope Mr. O'Donovan will consider this, and also, if by the Monastery of *Droichet alha*, in the Four Masters, Mellifont be always signified. We think the first thing that gave origin to the name *muirín*—more probably *m-buirín*—was prefixing *mo*, *my mine*—to *buirín*, which occurs several times in the names of Saints—*mo-buairín* for *mo* (mine) and *buairín*—a Saint's name—it would be *mo-buirín* (my Boyne), contracted afterwards into *mbuirín*, the *m*—“mortifying” the *b*, which name alone is now known among the people. This may account for the name *mbuirín* with more probability than what is said in the former letters.

Obiter could Ballymakenny be Maigh-da-chainneach mentioned in the annals under the year 1041 ? We send the name book of Ballykenny, Philipstown, Saint Mary's and St. Peter's Phs to be submitted to Mr. O'Donovan's decision. The names of the Tl's anglicised by us are followed with the letters O'K, O'C.

Your obedient servants,

P. O'Keeffe, T. O'Conor.

Thos. A. Larcom, Esq.

Several other parishes are finished, but being in the same book with others which are out, we could not send them.

ST. PETER'S, DROGHEDA.

We have the authority of Messrs. Patrick Reed, of Carntown, Parish of Ballymakenny ; Patrick Jones of Tullyosgar, Parish of B. M'kenney ; Patrick Smith of Killineer, Parish of St. Peter ; and Patrick Moore, living at Sunday's Gate, Drogheda, Ph. of St. P., for the names of the T.L. in that Parish (St. Peter's). The two former mentioned are as well acquainted with names of T.L. in the Parish of St. Peter as with those in Ballymakenny Ph., because they live at the boundary between both Parishes.

St. Peter's Parish—*parairce Teampull phéadair* ; they don't say *Teampull*, etc. Some say *Teampull phéadair*—not prefixing *parairce*. Killineer—*Cúttin dothair* (pron. *cúttin ae-ir*, Killan a-ir ; the *ll* liquid, the *a* like *a* in blade, and the *ir* liquid, like Gen. *fir*, of a man), a townland in the Parish of St. Peter, in which there is an old churchyard where very few families are accustomed now to bury, except the Moores of Killineer and their co-relatives (relations). We made every enquiry possible about the founder of the *cúttin* (little chapel or church), but there is nothing known about him. We went to an old man named William Smith (*uiliam ua shoban*, not *ain*) of the T.-land of Killineer, the above-mentioned Patrick Smith's father. He is more than 100 years of age, is confined to his bed those many years, is deaf, does not answer the questions put to him for about 15 minutes after he is asked. We requested of a woman who was in the house to ask him if he ever heard who was the founder of *Killineer Church* ; he said he never heard his name, but he says it was *there* (in Killineer)¹ the Chapel (Church) was first in the Parish of St. Peter, and gave us the name as mentioned before—that afterwards he does not remember the time it was deserted (or, as he says, removed into Drogheda), and the Church of St. Peter (*Teampull phéadair*) was built in its stead, from which the Parish of St. Peter took its denomination.

We could not find any one who could tell us the signification of *dothair* ; they know the signification of *Cúttin* thus far. They call it a *churchyard*. From their

¹ It was there the old chapel stood.

pronunciation one would incline to think it might be *CHILL AN DOODAIR* (Church of the Pastor); but they join the *an* so quickly to *chill* that one must think it is a terminational part of that word, and they give the *a* a distinct sound in *an*, not so long as in *an water*, and not with such force on the *n* as in the article *an-the*; certainly according to their pronunciation the termination could not be *in*, for the *a* is distinctly sounded in that manner which we described as well as we could. They do not pronounce the terminating *e* in the word *DOODAIR*—they exactly say *CHILLAN AE-IR*—joining the *an* immediately to *chill*,—it is called a small church by everyone, whether they signify the churchyard or the chapel that was in it by the term *small church*. The whole extent of the burial ground does not exceed one rood, part of which on the east side was appropriated to Quakers, who did not wish, even when dead, to mix with those that when alive were of a different persuasion from themselves. The people do not remember that a Protestant Church was ever built on the ground—the fact is that there was not, because it is said that the chapel *there* was deserted when *TEAMPULL BHEADAIR* was built in the Town of Drogheda. It may be that the words *small church* first took their origin among those who saw the walls of the chapel built on that ground, and are as yet preserved among the people, because it does not seem that people use *these words* as the signs of their own idea of the churchyard as it is at present. Now whether *CHILLAN* be their pronunciation of *small church*, a thing which requires more acquaintance with the general accentuation of the people of this part of the country than we have had as yet, or whether it be *CHILL* and the article *an* or not, one thing makes it possible, that by the word *DOODAIR* (a shepherd-pastor) is signified St. Peter, because it is said, as old William Smith told us, that this was the first church in the Parish, now called the Parish of St. Peter, and it might be that it was dedicated to (or at least denominated from) that Saint, under the name of *DOODAIR*, a *shepherd pastor*, because he is acknowledged to have been the Pastor of the universal Catholic Church next after Christ. And when it was deserted (or as he says, removed into Drogheda), then, probably, in consequence of a more magnificent chapel being built there, it was called *TEAMPULL*, and it was dedicated to (or denominated from) the same Saint—not under the name of *DOODAIR*, but of *BHEADAIR*, thus *TEAMPULL BHEADAIR*. *BHEADAIR*, by which name the Parish of St. Peter is now called in the Irish language, as mentioned above.

Now, all comes to this point—Killineer, as tradition says, was the first church in the Parish of St. Peter—the question then may be put, why is the present church denominated the church of Saint Peter, from which the Parish is also named? The answer must certainly be, because it was dedicated to St. Peter, hence its denomination. If the question be put again—was it originally dedicated to that Saint? Without following the example of some other church which had been dedicated to him, it might be answered, that some church, wheresoever it may have been, by its being dedicated to St. Peter, set the example first; but we cannot suppose that this church of St. Peter's, from which the Parish takes its denomination, was the first that set that example, because it is improbable that no churches were dedicated to that Saint during so long a space of time from the first ages of Christianity until the present church was built in Drogheda. After the example of what church then might it have been dedicated? Of what other church could it be supposed than of that which was the only church, and the original one in the same Parish—viz., Killineer, which William Smith, aged 100 years, remembers to hear was deserted (or in his words, was removed) (*memoria patrum iccunne na reanodomead*) into Drogheda, and in its stead the church from which the Parish takes its denomination was erected and dedicated to St. Peter—as appears from the present Irish name *TEAMPULL BHEADAIR*. That it was a custom to pull down, or at least desert old churches, and build others on new sites, and often very convenient to the old ones, needs no other proof than to take a tour through the different

countries and there see the many ruins of old churches, etc., which the people who are in their vicinity will point out to have been deserted many years ago, and new ones erected in their stead within the same diocese, parish, or within a few townlands of the former, and they will point them out thus, saying: "There are the old walls of the former church in this parish, etc." or, "That is the churchyard where the former church of this parish or of such a parish was before the new one was built, which is in such a place, etc." And moreover the ruins of churches, monasteries, etc., are for the most part contiguous to villages, of the origin of which they themselves were first the cause, as is well known; and when the old church is deserted the new one is built generally in the adjacent village, but then the modern church is to serve for the same purpose as the former one, and it follows that its dedication is made to the same saint, to whom the former had been dedicated. If then the modern churches are dedicated to the same saints—each to the saint to whom the former church, instead of which the modern one was built, had been dedicated, it follows with every probability that the Parish Church of St. Peter (Τεαμπυλλ ρεαδαιρ) is dedicated to the same Saint, to whom *Killineer* had been dedicated, which, as is said before, tradition states, to have been the former church in the Parish before the modern one (St. Peter's Church) was built; but it is evident both from the testimony of people and even from its name (Τεαμπυλλ ρεαδαιρ) that the modern one is dedicated to St. Peter. If therefore, the modern church be dedicated to St. Peter, it follows that the former one also was dedicated to this Saint. Wherefore, whether in *Κιλλεαν Δοθαίρε*, the exact accentuation of which is shown above, which is the only clue to the signification—for there is no tradition whatever connected with it to disclose the veil of obscurity which overhangs it, except the few remarks hitherto adduced, whether (we repeat) the word *Κιλλεαν* be one word and signify a small church, or whether it be *Κιλλ*, and the article *αν of the*, or whether it be really *Κιλλιν* (corruptly pron. *Κιλλεαν*) or not, it is evident from what has been premised, that by the word *Δοθαίρε* (shepherd Pastor) is signified Peter. Therefore, *Κιλλιν* or *Κιλλεαν*, or *Κιλλ αν Δοθαίρε* (Killan-ā-ir pron.) signifies *the little church of*, or *the church of* the Pastor, signifying St. Peter. It may therefore be concluded, that the name was changed *merely* in letters and sound (pronunciation) and not in signification, and that therefore, the term *Κιλλ-κιλλεαν* [sic] (a little church), or *Κιλλ αν (church of the, etc.)* was changed into *Τεαμπυλλ* (a Scriptural name for a church), sometimes signifying *Temple*, as *Τεαμπυλλ Ιερουσαλαιμ*—the Temple of Jerusalem—and what was more splendid according to what is said of it—a name more suitable, because the modern church is said to exceed the former, if not in every respect, certainly in extent, and the term *Δοθαίρε* (Pastor) in consequence of the initial change, which might not, perhaps, sound so gracefully, or for a greater distinction of the dedication was changed into *ρεαδαιρ*, and the name made up *Τεαμπυλλ ρεαδαιρ*—Church of Peter, from which the Parish is named, as is said before, and therefore *Κιλλεαν Δοθαίρε* and *Τεαμπυλλ ρεαδαιρ* have the same signification and both were dedicated to S. Peter.¹ We fear we have trespassed too much on your patience in dwelling so long on this seemingly trifling name, but we are so curious in our attempt to discover the signification of names *imposed* on churches when newly built, but disappearing in the same proportion as their walls are decreased, until at last (*nomen cum re extinctum sit* = the name and the object disappear). Perhaps there is too much scrupulosity used with regard to some things, if so, we hope it will be made known to us, in order that we may chasten our enquiries and divest them of superfluities.

Carntown, the name of a townland in Ballymakenny Ph., said by every person

¹ The repetitions occurring here cannot be avoided, as the contrast between the modern and old churches requires the greatest distinction.

of whom we enquired to be a name corrupted from the Irish name *Carrington*, *Carrington*—the termination *town* in every other name they call *Ḅaite*, and prefix it in the Irish name ; but they deny *town* in this name to signify *Ḅaite*—they do not know or say what the signification of it is, but they say it was so called since the beginning of time—aye 300, 500 years ago—never was called by any other name. This is the pronunciation given by Jones, Reed, Smith, and Moore, etc.

Carntown. A Townland in the Parish of St. Peter, joining on the west Carntown in Ballymakenny Ph., which is mentioned above. They pronounce the Irish name of it like Carntown in Ballymakenny ; but Reed says : the name in Irish was formerly *Ḣḡaite* ; pron. the *ll* very liquid, so much so that one *l* would by no means represent the sound.

There was a fort in this townland, which they called *ḡaḡ* ; it was destroyed by a man surnamed *Madden*, *O ḡaḡeḡ, ḡaḡeḡeḡ*. Shortly afterwards a neighbouring man saw four men with a coffin coming down from the *ḡaḡ*, and burying it in a river which runs at some distance from it. Armies were often seen there going on a nightly expedition (knightly expedition—they were all knights on the batter).¹ There was a pool of water in this townland called *ḡot na ḡinḡe*, from a man named *ḡinḡe*, who went out one night to dig a pit in which he might hide his money. He concealed it some place, but was unfortunately seen by some covetous villain, who carried it off between that and morning. When poor *ḡinḡe* returned he could not find it, and because he could not he drowned himself in that pool—hence called *ḡot on-ḡinḡe* (Polhinsh) ; pron. . . .

Liscurry. A townland in the Parish of St. Peter, named from *ḡior*, which they also call a *fort* or *moat*, and *cḡḡaḡ* ; gen. of *cḡḡaḡ*—bog. The bog is in the townland still, but the *ḡior*—Fort—is destroyed, *notwithstanding* it is remembered by the people to have been in the *townland*.

Listoke—*ḡior ḡuḡaḡe* ; pron. *ḡior ḡo-aḡe* (lios do-aige). The *fort* in this townland was likewise pulled down, *notwithstanding* it is remembered to have been there. They do not understand *ḡuḡaḡe*, unless it be signified thereby—the place, or *lands*—about the rising ground on which, as they say, the moat stood—which is a low marshy ground. There is a place bearing the same name (*ḡuḡaḡ*) in the townland (or as the people say, distinct from it) of *Greaghdrumit* in the Parish of Carrickmacross, barony of Farney, and Co. of Monaghan. It is almost of the same quality with the place mentioned here, and has the same appearance ; the exact pronunciation is given.

Money more. A townland in the Parish of St. Peter, formerly called *Ḅaite an ḡoḡaḡ* (town of the small lake). There is a tradition that it was thus named, because, before Noah's flood, a *town* or village (*Ḅaite*) is said to have been swallowed by an *earthquake*. There was a very large bog in it, part of which remains still (the rest is under cultivation) from which it took the name of *ḡonaḡ ḡor* (pron. by the people *Manymore*). In many instances it is very hard to learn from their pronunciation of some names what the signification is ; it is almost impossible to learn it from the mere pron., except by learning the quality of the places, their situations, their features, what objects are in them, were in them, or contiguous to them, from which they derived such names, and that is our principal reason for explaining, as much as we can learn by tradition from the people, the names of those townlands, places, etc., which still retain the name, notwithstanding the objects from which they have been named, have disappeared. The people here are inclined to change *o-u-* almost on every occasion into *a* ; they say *manaḡ* (pron. many) for *ḡonaḡ* ; they pronounce alike *ḡaḡ* (a meadow), *ḡḡaḡ* (a stream) ; gen.

¹ Yellowbatter is near this.

ῥροῦα, ῥαῖ (fort), leaving out the initial ῥ- as well as changing u- and o- into α, which will be fully shown, when we come to speak of *Townrath* (T.L.); they say also that ῥαῖ¹ is a *fort*, and most commonly they pronounce -ῖ- like *th* in English, and the α- dwelling on it double the time of α in any other word—thus ῥαῖ (rááth; pron. *th* fully); they say Rath (pron. as before) is a man's name or surname, but can tell no more about it (they likewise call meadow or level ground running along a river ῥαῖ (short), leaving out the initial ῥ- (the word is -ῥαῖ), making no distinction in the pronunciation between ῥῥαῖ, a stream; gen. ῥροῦα, ῥῥαῖ, a meadow, and ῥαῖ,² a fort, except that they pronounce ῥαῖ (sometimes rááth as is shown before) *th* like *th* in with).

Townrath (Ῥουνῥαῖα); pron. Ῥουν ῥαῖ by some,—by Reed and Jones Ῥουν ῥάα, long as above; and by Smith Ῥουν ῥαῖη; pron. *th* thus rááth—a townland in St. Peter's Parish, joining Carntown (just now spoken of) on the north. It is almost impossible to arrive at the true signification of this name. Reed says that by Ῥουν is signified “a low valley environed by rising ground.” Jones and others say it signifies a *dwelling*, a *grave*, etc., or any enclosed place, and derive it from Ῥουν, shut up; imp. of Ῥουναιμ. *I shut up*; because Jones says—if a man be shut up in his grave—Ῥουν ε—*shut him up*, there is no more about him, he lies there—Ῥουνῖα—*shut up*—this is the local meaning of Ῥουν in this country. Reed thinks Ῥουν in this name signifies the valley or low ground in that townland, and the latter part called ῥαῖα; pron. ῥάα signifies either the ῥῥαῖ (by him called ῥαῖ—short—exclusively of Ῥουν³), the meadow or low ground through which a little river runs under *Blackstaff* Bridge (in the same townland), formerly called Δεῖ ἂν μαῖρε Ῥουῖ (ford of the black stick); but since the bridge was built it is called Ῥοῖρετ ἂν μαῖρε Ῥουῖ (Bridge of the black stick), or it might be that it took its name from the stream, ῥῥαῖ; gen. ῥροῦα; pron. ῥαῖ). Some say a man named Raath (*th* pron.) lived there, from whom it might have been named; but none of the family of that name can be pointed out at present in this part. The people say there were some families of that name in the country, but we cannot as yet find where any of them lives now. If the first of these names be correct, the orthography would be Ῥουν ῥαῖα (dwelling of the fortress), the second would be Ῥουν ῥῥαῖα (dwelling of the flat or low ground), the third Ῥουν ῥροῦα (dwelling of the stream or river); and if it be the name of a man, which yet requires to be examined, it would be Ῥουν ῥαῖη (query the orthography) *dwelling of Raath*—all pronounced the same way—except the first ῥαῖα (of the fort), and last Rááth, which are pronounced the same, to this pron. both significations are ascribed.

Now, tradition says a man named Rááth lived in this townland, which name the people think is the terminational part of *Townrath* (Ῥουνῥαῖα). Now perhaps this is a sufficient proof, that some notable man lived *there* whose dwelling-place (or castle) was called Ῥουν. If this be sufficient evidence, we have a Ῥουν, *dwelling* (castle) established there, from which the initial part of the name of the townland is formed. Let us now search for the *Post fix* ῥαῖα. We have said before that tradition says there was a fort (called ῥαῖ⁴ and *no other name* by Reed, Jones, Smith, and some others of whom we enquired)⁵ in Carntown, which ῥαῖ, as stated above, was destroyed by *Madden*. *Carntown*, in St. Peter's Ph., as is said above, is the boundary of Townrath on the north. Further, a Ῥουν (dwelling) is said to have

¹ This pron. is confined to the word ῥαῖ alone.

² They do not pron. α in ῥῥαῖ, *meadow*, so long altogether as in ῥαῖ, a *fort*.

³ When he pron. ῥῥαῖ by itself he pron. it short, and when Ῥουν is prefixed it is long.

⁴ They say it was a ῥαῖ and not a Ῥοῖ.

⁵ The question was put twice.

been in the latter, but in what part we could not learn, a *ῥατ*, *fort* or *fortress* in the former, but where we could not learn. These things being premised, it is possible that the name might be compounded of both—thus *οὔνηρα* (*dwelling of the fortress*). Mr. O Donovan will please to decide this—all mediums which lead to the attaining the true orthography are laid down here as well as we can learn. There is one thing, the people cannot be much relied on in explaining any name, except the true signification be elicited from them either by the pronunciation, which is sometimes no easy task, or from some old story connected with it, which very often opens a wide road to the true signification of names, because they explain every name according to the stock of words they are possessed of, significant of the features which the object or place, which is called by such or such a name presents before their eyes.

Let it not be once conjectured that *town* in this name signifies *τόν* (bottom), for the pron., which is *οὔν* (ο—not ε) excludes totally all pretensions to such a signification.

The Twenties. A townland in the Parish of St. Peter. We can find no Irish name for it. Many persons told us they heard it called by an Irish name, but they could not remember it. Jones says it is neither *Forties* nor *Fifties*, but *Twenties*—in Irish *na twenties*.

Barnatten—*Βαρν αἰτνε* (Gap of the furze). Jones: *Βαρν na naἰτνε*; Smith, a small place in the townland of Killineer; takes this name from having a gap or breach in it stopped up with furze. In it is a well called *Τοβάρ δ' τ-ροτάρ* (lit. the well of light), but commonly called Holy Well. The well is said to have been first in the townland of *Βαίτε υἱ ξατορῶν* (*Belgatheran*) in the Parish of *Mellifont*, or *Μυμυρτῆρ μορ na mbῥατῆρ* (as they say in the Ph. of *Tullyalluinn*). Butchers who inhabited that T.L. washed in it the *viscera* of some animals which they killed (knocked down), in consequence of which pollution, the well, accompanied with a great number of candles, showing much light, was seen by all the neighbours removing from its place to *Barnatten*, where it now is to be seen. Old William Smith (of the 100 years) told us it was called *St. Finan's Well*, and says the story about it having removed is downright truth. Persons afflicted with sore eyes have benefitted much by making a station at it. Barnatten, where the well is, being in the *Townland* of *Killineer*, and the tradition that the well is called *St. Finan's* may perhaps suggest something about that Saint being connected with the church of *Killineer*. Is there any evidence of it?

We likewise got the question put to Smith about the founder of *Monasterboice*. He said it was *μυῖτῆν* (*mween*); that this is a corruption of *μυῖτῆν* has been shown before. Reed said it was *Boetus*, but he found it in some book, for he said he never heard the Irish name of *Boetus*; he heard it always called *μυμυρτῆρ* *μυῖτῆν* in Irish, and *Monasterboice* in English. He says *Monasterboice* was dedicated to St. Ambrose. His festival is held on the 7th of December^a next following St. Nicholas's, to whom, as is said before, the church of *Ballymakenny* was dedicated. We have not as yet ascertained whether the people are accustomed to assemble still at *Monasterboice* to hold what is called a *Patron*.¹

Wallace's Row. A small number of houses in the T.L. of *Yellow Batter*, built in the year 1819 by Wallace of *Drogheda*, in order to increase the number of his voters when he was canvassing for a seat in Parliament—hence called *Wallace's Row*; the people call it in Irish *Ῥοτ ἂν Οἰλῆριξ*.

[^a 7th December is the Feast Day of St. Buite.]

¹ Since writing this we got intelligence that a *Patron* is usually held in *Newtown-Monasterboice* on the 7th December, but the priests and police have almost put an end to it and to many others, because there is so much bad conduct shewn at such assemblies.

In this letter the terms church and chapel are synonymous throughout, except where Protestant Church is mentioned, and in one place where Peter is said to be the Pastor of the universal Church, signifying the Church of Rome. This remark, it is hoped, will prevent all ambiguity arising from these terms. . . .

Page 57:—We beg leave to remark that by the words—"The present Church of St. Peter" mentioned in our former letter in speaking of Killineer, is signified, not the present Protestant Church in St. Peter's Parish, but the old church (or chapel) of St. Peter, *Ἐκκλησίᾳ Πέτρου*, from which the Parish took its name, and on the site of which the *new* Protestant Church stands. No vestiges of its ruin remain now.

IRISH NAMES OF THE SEVEN GATES AND PRINCIPAL STREETS OF DROGHEDA.

1. West gate,	Ἑρτά ἤμαρ na ἑ-καρτ.	to the W. of the town.
2. New gate,	Ἑρτά ὕρ,	to the N.
3. Sunday's gate,	Ἑρτά μὴς an Ὀομναις,	to the N.E.
4. Laurence's gate, ¹	Ἑρτά San Λαύραρ; pron. λόραρ,	to the E.
5. Dublin gate,	Ἑρτά Ὀάτε Δετὰ Ἐλισ,	to the E.
6. Duleek gate,	Ἑρτά Ὀάμλιας; pron Ὀάτice,	to the S
7. John's gate,	Ἑρτά ran Seóm,	to the W.

To the North of the Boyne.	West St.,	ἤμαρ na ἑ-καρτ.
	Laurence's St.,	ἤμαρ ran Λαύραρ (not αἱρ).
	Fair St.,	ἤμαρ an Δοναῖς.
	Shop St.,	ἤμαρ na ρεαράθ (pron. αἱρ).
	Peter's St., ²	ἤμαρ na b-Πιολόμπεθ.
South of Boyne.	Dyer St.,	ἤμαρ na Ὀφιαθ.
	Stockwell Lane,	ἤμαρ Δ Ὀβαιρ.
	James' St.,	ἤμαρ San Seum.
	John's St.,	ἤμαρ San Seóm.

BALLYMAKENNY.

. . . After we got the names of the T.L. in the Parish of St. Mary we went to Ballymakenny Church and to the T.L. of Carntown in that Parish, where there are the ruins of a Castle. We went to Mr. Patrick Reed, who, as the people say, lives in the Castle of Carntown, in the Parish of Ballymakenny. He does not now occupy (i.e., live within) the Castle, but did 4 years ago. Mr. Reed is a very intelligent man, and gave us a good deal of information respecting what we asked him.

Ballymakenny [Ὀάτε μὴς Ἰννεαῖρ] (pron. Ὀάτε mī cunnō, nn as n) joining Carntown, takes its name, as he (Reed) thinks, from Ὀάτε, which signifies a *town*, and μὴς Ἰννεαῖρ (pron. *eeny*), and Anglicised in this part of the country *Heeny* (Ῥατρίακ μὰς Ἰννεαῖρ) (*Paudric Maceeny*, Patrick *Heeny*). There are several families of the name living in Ballymakenny. In other parts of Ireland this name is Anglicized *Kenny*. Mr. O'Donovan will be pleased to consider it this be correct; the pronunciation is accurately given.

³ In this Townland is a Protestant Church built on the site of an old chapel, the ruined walls of which *Reed* and *Jones* and *several others* remember to have seen.

¹ Is still in good preservation.

² *Street of the pillars*. In this street there were pillars to which were fixed stocks (so called) where delinquents were yoked as a punishment—hence the Irish name.

³ From this T.L. the Parish takes its name

This Chapel is said to have been dedicated to Saint Nicholas of Lyra, as Reed says. Query if it be Saint Nicholas of Mira? His festival day is still remembered by the people—viz.,¹ the 6th of December. Query, is the 6th, &c., Nicholas of Mira's day in Butler's Lives, &c.; they know no more about it.

Carntown, in which the Castle stands, is named by Smith *Βαίτε εάρνη*; pron. by Jones and Reed *Βαίτε εάρνη*. Reed says he heard the town was named from a man who lived at the cross-roads in or adjoining that Townland. In all the Irish names of men we find no name to correspond to the pronunciation of this. There are two names which might be mistaken for it—*Caτάρηναδ*; gen. *Caτάρηναδς* and *Caρρηναδς*; gen. *Caρρηναδς*; but there is a wide difference between the pron. of those and that of the name in *Βαίτε εάρνη*—the exact pron.; but according to their accentuation here, it might as well be *εατάρνη*—that is, in pronouncing, they do not distinguish the *ε* coming between the vowels.²

The name of this Townland (Carntown) can still be read on Christopher Chever's tombstone, which lies in the churchyard of Ballymakenny. The Castle in Carntown was built and occupied by Chever.³ The year in which it was built is not known, but the year in which he died is written on his tombstone; the inscription O'Keefe has taken down, both for the sake of knowing the orthography of the name of the townland at that early period and the year in which he died, for it suggests very nearly the year of the building of the Castle. Chever is said to have been a warm adherent of King James at the time of the battle of the Boyne, and always had an enthusiastic attachment to his country. It happened, that having died someplace abroad (we could not learn where), he was brought and interred in Ballymakenny churchyard; and it is said that when his coffin was laid down previously to his being interred, blood ran in streams from it. Patrick Jones told us this, and being asked why. He said the cause was that James was conquered in the battle at the Boyne some short time before (so the people said) in aiding him to sustain which Chever made every exertion in his power; it was at his castle that King James always got his horses shod, and several other preparations made. His coffin is said to have run streams of blood, through regret that James did not come off victorious; but, said Jones, God knows maybe it was on account of the tossing his corpse suffered whilst⁴ he was carrying home—but the people thought otherwise. He was buried in that churchyard before the present Protestant Church was erected in it. Jones says that when it was commenced to be built Chever's tombstone was removed and his grave dug up; but the stone lies in the graveyard yet, on which is the following epitaph as copied down by O'Keefe. The stone is broken; it is not easy to distinguish the letters:—

We think this is
Carnaghton, now
called Carntown.

Βαίτε εάρνη
(pron.).

The day of the
month cannot be
found out, but the
year of his death is
1687.^(a)

This tomb was erected by
Christopher Chever of CAR
NA / I / ION ESQ.

* * *
* * *

AN DO
1687.

The down stroke
shews where the
stone being broken,
does not lie closely
together.

¹ A *patron* is held in it on that day; and was held the 6th of this month—December.

² Nothing will settle the orthography but the actual knowledge of this being a proper name. Please let Mr. O'Donovan see if such a name occurs.

³ John Cheevers of Carntown, whose daughter was 2nd wife to Thomas Plunket of Portlaw, County Tipperary, 2nd son of Matthew 7th Baron of Louth.—*Lodge ed. Archdall Peerage*, VI: 171. In 1657 from a survey of the parishes made that year Robert Cheevers of Carnantowne is among the list of Landed Proprietors.—[General Stubbs.]

⁴ He was being carried.

^a Evidently the Christopher Chever whom the stone commemorates is wrongly confounded with the man who was the supporter of James II, and who may have been his son.

BEWLY.

Bewly Parish, called *Béitin* by some—by others *Béitin*—and *parroche Béitin*, is about the distance of 1 mile to the east of Drogheda, and extends as far as the mouth of Boyne to the south.

The people know nothing about the signification of the word *Béitín*.

They have a phrase which we wrote before :—

Θέλεις την κατ'εξουσίαν σου να μάθω
· · · · · τη ζωή

Vocal Bewley of the cuckoo's on the margin of the sea
of the strand

From the appearance of the place covered all over with trees to a great extent, which is called by the name of Bewly grove (the people seldom give *Bewly grove* any Irish name, except some that attempt to translate it, then they say *Coit B  t  n*, but it is not commonly used), and from its situation, verging on the sea or mouth of the river Boyne, it might be conjectured that *B  t  n* signifies " the birch trees " (wood), or wood (grove) abounding in birch, situated near the seashore or entrance or mouth of the sea. If this conjecture be probable the orthography would be *B  t  n* (*birch wood of the straight*) if *  n*, a straight, make *  ne* in the gen. ; perhaps the letter *e* might either be left out for *sound's sake*, or that custom left it out (*norma loquendi*) ; perhaps *  n*, a straight makes gen. *  n*, adding no final vowel, but having its initial consonant *  * aspirated, as in the vocative of *toe*.

There is no greater evidence for the initial part of the name *Þeittin* than that *þeitt*—signifying a *birch tree*—is applied in this name to the grove (as it is now called) or wood (probably it was more extensive at an earlier period), because it abounded more in this kind of timber than in any other.

NOTES ON BEAULIEU ADDED BY GENERAL STUBBS.

The Manor of Bewley belonged to the Plunket family. By an Inquisition taken at Dunleer, 12th June, 1622, Sir John Plunket was found seized in fee of said Manor—see Lodge, ed., *Archdall Peerage*, Vol. VI., p. 162, under "Plunket Lord Dunsany." It had been in the same family from the first invasion of Ireland by the English.

The first Plunket mentioned in connection with the place is John Plunket, who died there 3rd August, 1082—*Lodge*, VI., 160.

William Plunket, born in 1618 (Inq. 12 June, 1622, and 18 March 1644) seem to have been the last of the name in Bewly. The lands were forfeited and came into possession of Sir Wm. Tichbourne by virtue of a statute staple of £600, acknowledged 10 October, 1639, by William Plunket to Margaret, Thomas and Ignatius Peppard extended in the same lands, and the said interest was purchased by Sir William Tichbourne.



Ancient Inscribed Tombstones at Drogheda and Dunleer.

Professor Macalister read a paper in January last before the Royal Irish Academy descriptive of a number of inscribed stones in various counties which has since been published in the Proceedings of the Academy (Vol. XXXIII.—Sec. C, No. 5)

In addition to an account of the Barnafeadog Ogham Stone, condensed from that which he contributed to last year's JOURNAL, there are descriptions of the remarkable Drogheda and Dunleer tombstones, which Professor Macalister and the Council of the Academy very kindly allow us to reproduce, along with the plates of the stones.

DROGHEDA, CO. LOUTH.

A slab of grit-stone, at present lying in the porch of St. Peter's Church, Drogheda. It is said to have been brought thither from Rokeby Hall, whither it had been taken from an old graveyard called Marlay.¹ It is roughly circular, measuring 2 ft. 7½ ins. by 2 ft. 8½ ins. in diameter, and 8 ins. thick. The devices are punched, rather roughly, on the face. They consist of two crosses, one of them quite plain, the other ornamentally treated (see the illustration); an inscription in two lines, above and below the crosses; and a circular border line surrounding the whole.



INSCRIBED STONE AT DROGHEDA.

The inscription is not easy to understand, and the fantastic forms which the artist has given to the letters, with exaggerated serifs, do not make it any clearer

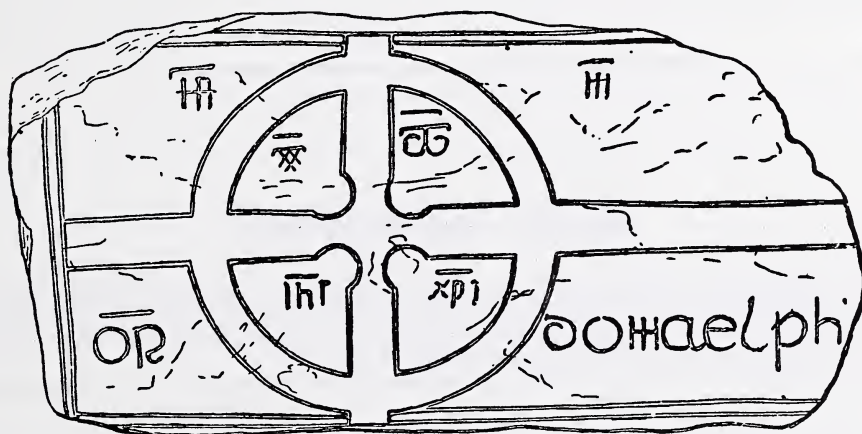
¹ R.S.A.I. *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 327.

It is evident that the bottom line is to be taken first, and that the legend contains two names connected with the letter F, doubtless an abbreviation for FILIUS. As the scribe seems to have thought he was writing Latin, he has not ventured to provide the father's name with a genitive inflexion.

The first name looks more like COCMAN than anything else. A flaw running across the stone interferes with the third letter. It might possibly, though less probably, be a T; but neither COCMAN nor COTMAN is a name which is to be found elsewhere. On the other hand, COLMAN is one of the commonest names in Early Christian literature, and it is not impossible that the damaged letter is really an eccentric form of L, the top of the apparent c being only one side of the bifid serif at the top of the letter, and the other half being lost in the flaw. The curvature of the letter, which is carefully reproduced in the drawing, weighs heavily against this easy escape from the difficulty. Nor is there any trace of the cross-stroke which would give us an equally well-known name, COEMAN. The father's name is TNUDACH: this name is found in *Four Masters*, A.D. 709.

DUNLEER, Co. LOUTH.

I am indebted to Mr. Dolan and Mr. Tempest for calling my attention to this monument, which, so far as I know, has not hitherto been published. It is lying with a number of other stones, bearing crosses (but no inscriptions) in a hall



INSCRIBED STONE AT DUNLEER.

attached to the Protestant Parish Church. It is a slab of sandstone, 3 feet 3½ ins. by 1 ft. 8 ins., by 2¼ ins. The end of the stone is broken off, but otherwise the condition is good. This fracture, however, takes off the most important part of the owner's name, which was probably *Mael-Phatraic*; the inscription is in the usual formula, OR(oit) DO MAELPH . . . "a prayer for Mael-Ph . . ." In the cross-head the stone bears the Alpha and Omega, as well as the letters IHC XPC, found on a few of these slabs, such as those at Glendaloch and Tullylease. In the other cantons are groups of three strokes. Are these for an M, standing for MARIA? I can think of no other explanation. If it be correct, the stone is symbolically unique among early Christian slabs in Ireland. Compare the M in the initial of the name on the stone.

Find of Bog Butter.

DURING the month of May, while some workmen were engaged cutting turf in McGeeney's bog, Carrickrovaddy, parish of Cullyhanna, they came upon a wooden vessel containing a white, greasy substance, commonly known as "bog butter." When found the butter was formed into a round top above the mouth of the vessel and bore the imprint of a human hand, but part of this substance was removed by persons who thought they would get some treasure hidden in it.

The vessel is still intact, but very frail; it is somewhat weather-shaped and has two handles, and for ornamentation it bears the design of a cross on each side burnt into the wood by a stamp or some instrument used for the purpose. It has all been scooped out of one solid piece of oak except the handles and bottom, which were apparently fastened on with wooden pegs. It measures eleven inches in height, eight inches in width, and was discovered about six feet below the surface of the bog.

ΔΟΤ. Ο CEΛΛΑΙΣ.

Notes and Queries.

The answer to the query by H.M. in the last number of the JOURNAL is contained in the following inscription on the title-page of the old Burial Book of Haggardstown Graveyard:—

' Liber Defunctorum Ecclesiæ Parochialis Sancti Fursei de Hagerstown et annexis. Pastore Laurentio Taaffe, habitante Kilcurle die 12nd Januarii A.D. 1752.'

As "*Ecclesia Sancti Fursei*" is the equivalent of Killfursa, the old ruin in Haggardstown graveyard is the place sought for.

L.P.M.

"**The Redshank's Galleys.**"—In a note, page 335, in the last number of the JOURNAL, the ingenious suggestion that the above phrase may have been a nautical equivalent for "*Shanks' Mare*" is incorrect. "*The Redshanks*" was a nickname for the MacDonnells of the Glens of Antrim

L.P.M.

Old Dundalk Names.—The following names of streets, etc., were of frequent occurrence in the Dundalk Baptismal Registers of over a century ago. How many of the younger generation can identify half of them?

1. Hamilton's Lane.
2. Nacea.
3. Meeting-house Lane.
4. Featherbed Lane.
5. Magee's Lane.
6. Matthews' Yard.
7. Fox's Lane.
8. Kennedy's Lane.

9. Borough Field.
10. Hale's Lane.
11. Pound.
12. Thakerie's Lane.
13. Treanor's Lane.
14. Factory.
15. Upper Seatown.
16. Strand.

17. Marblehill.
18. Pound Factory.
19. Scotchgreen.
20. Nagi.
21. Parliament Square.
22. McDowell's Court.
23. Charter School Lane.

L.P.M.

Reviews.

A History of the Irish Dominicans, by Rev. M. H. MacInerny, O.P. ; Vol. I., Irish Dominican Bishops (1224-1307). (Browne and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin, 1916. Price, 10s. 6d. net.)

A very valuable contribution to the history of the Primate of Armagh is contained in the opening volume of Fr. MacInerny's *History of the Irish Dominicans*. Dismissing on excellent grounds the title of Primate Albert Suerbeer to be regarded as a Dominican, the learned author treats very fully indeed the careers of Primates Reginald (1247-1256), Patrick O Scannell (1261-1270) and Walter Jorz (1307-1311).

In a vague way one thought that Primate O Scannell might be found to have had some connection with Ballymascanlan, near Dundalk ; but although every effort has been made to locate the place of his origin no definite result has been attained. He filled the See of Raphoe before his occupancy of the Primacy, and he was consecrated in the monastery of the Franciscans at Dundalk in 1253. In 1262 he held a Synod at Drogheda in which he promulgated an important Papal decree, reaffirming the primatial rights of the See of Armagh. A second Synod, held in the same town, is thought to have had for one of its chief topics the erection of the Cathedral at Armagh. In 1270 he died, and his remains were laid to rest in the church of his order in the monastery of St. Mary Magdalen at Drogheda.

Walter Jorz, who was an Englishman and a former professor at Oxford, was appointed to the Primacy in 1307. It is worth noting the correct form of his name, which hitherto has been muddled in many ways. We find him called Joyce and Joice and Joise, etc. He succeeded a very patriotic and uncompromising Irishman named Nicholas MacMoel Isu. To be exact one John Taaffe was appointed, but he died very shortly afterwards in Rome. Primate Nicholas was not quite so acquiescent in the matter of his canonical rights to use and dispose the temporalities of the See, as the Norman rulers of Ireland would have liked. Walter Jorz unfortunately succeeded to a legacy of trouble which an Irishman would perhaps have handled better, but which the representatives of English rule were in no-mood to lighten. The story of his troubled Primacy contains quite a number of references to archepiscopal lands and churches in the County Louth which are interesting from many points of view. Farms retaken from the Archbishop at Dromiskin and Termonfeckin are noted many times. Lands are referred to at Mayn, Co. Uriel, which is probably identical with Mayne in the parish of Clogher, at Monisterbod, evidently Monasterboice, at Coluriston, which will be found in Ballymakenny parish. Lands at Newtown and Secone, at Ivermongan and Ivermacbury, have not been identified. There are several Newtowns in Louth ; but where is Secone ? Is it Seatown ? Iver Mongan would mean Mongan's Yew tree, and Ivermacbury MacBury's (?) yew tree. Where are these places ? Possibly one of them may be placed at Tenure—which signifies the house of the yew tree.

In the Life of Primate Reginald that interesting phase, the close of the controversy between Armagh and Clogher, concerning the rule of Louth is narrated. Primate Reginald submitted the whole cause to the judgment of the Holy See, and he seems to have secured the verdict which finally assigned the greater portion of Louth to the Archdiocese of Armagh.

As this notice is meant to stir the interest of readers of the *Louth Archæological Journal*, I have merely outlined some of the items of Louth history which the author has touched upon. Elsewhere I have ventured in a more comprehensive review to express my opinion of the work as a whole. There can be no doubt that it is the most valuable contribution to the history of Ireland during the thirteenth century that has been published for many years. Those who seek information on the history of Louth will find many things in it to interest them, and for matter dealing with the vicissitudes of the Primatial See and in the general history of the period which it covers, it is a work of unusual merit. We may well offer the author on behalf of this Journal the congratulations which he deserves. We may congratulate, too, the Dominican Order upon having found amongst themselves an historian gifted with the rare qualities which are needed to do justice to the distinguished history of the Dominicans in Ireland.

THOMAS GOGARTY.

Calendar of the Gormanston Register, c. A.D. 1175-1397. Edited by James Mills and M. J. McEnery, Deputy Keepers of the Records, being extra volume of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, 1916. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.; 1916

The Gormanstown Register, which has been published this year by the Royal Society of Antiquaries as an extra volume, rewards the long expectancy of archæological students with a great deal of valuable history of families and estates.

It is a Calendar—synopsised only in verbiage, but reproducing all names, place and personal, and all the matter, with a full text of all the more important entries—of an ancient Register Book compiled by the family of the Lord Gormanstons in the fourteenth century and preserved at Gormanston Castle.

There is a very useful preface, detailing the interesting history of the foundation of the Preston family and information of the other families to whose property or succession any of the entries have reference.

The Register (the editors explain) is a record and transcript of the title-deeds and estate papers of the Preston property in Ireland, and also of many other contemporary documents relating to neighbouring properties, which, it is suggested, the compilers included for their antiquarian interest. The documents cover the period from about A.D. 1175 to 1397—about two hundred years: and the presumption is that they had accumulated in the muniment-chest of the Prestons and were transcribed into this Register about 1397-8 under the direction of Sir Christopher de Preston, the lord of Gormanston.

The MS. book contains 223 parchment folios, 10½ by 7½ inches, and is bound in oak boards covered with calf-skin.

Almost all the entries refer to lands in County Meath and Dublin. There are a couple which refer to deeds of County Louth property—that of De Lacy at Carlingford.

The family of Preston, the editors tell, originated with Adam, son of Philip, a townsman of Preston in Lancashire, who lived at the close of the thirteenth century. Adam had three sons—William, Richard and Roger. The first two were merchants who frequently traded across the Irish Sea and made Drogheda their home in the first years of the 14th century, attracted by the prospects of a flourishing trade from this port, as quoted in the paper in this number of the JOURNAL, pages 76-77 "State Papers." The first to establish himself in Drogheda was William, who in 1307 married Margery, daughter of John Cosyn of Drogheda, and acquired messuages in the town that same year, and in 1319 became possessed of the lands of Gaffney, County Meath.

Richard also settled in Drogheda, and the third brother (a lawyer) came to Ireland after them and became a Judge of the King's Bench in this country. His son, also a lawyer, rose to the position of Chief Justice of Ireland, and apparently inherited his uncles' wealth (whose line died out with their children) and bought the estate of Gormanston in 1363. He married the daughter of Sir William De Birmingham, of Carbury, Co. Kildare. This family has an interest from its connection with Louth.

Sir Robert de Birmingham received from Strongbow the lordship of Offaly. His descendant at the end of the thirteenth century was Peter (died 1308), whose eldest son was John, afterwards created Earl of Louth; and the second son was the Sir William to whose daughter Chief Justice Preston of Gormanston was married. This John de Birmingham Earl of Louth, who won his title for his part in defeating Edward Bruce, married one of the daughters of the great De Burgo, Earl of Ulster, successor through his wife of De Lacy's title and estates, whose other daughters were the wives of King Robert Bruce of Scotland, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Desmond, and whose grand-daughter (the child of his son William) married Lionel Duke of Clarence, and gave the Kings of the House of York to the throne of England.

The son of the above Lord Chancellor Preston, Sir Christopher, married the daughter and heiress of William Laundris, Baron of Naas, descendant of a brother of the great Archbishop, and thus made a connection with another distinguished family which had property in Louth.

These family connections were probably the cause of the insertion in the Register of some interesting grants affecting Co. Louth lands. They are (1) the Charter of King John to Hugh de Lacy of the Earldom of Ulster; (2) an Agreement or Marriage Settlement, made in 1195, between Thomas de Verdon and Hugh de Lacy, by which Thomas gives to De Lacy with his sister Laselina de Verdon in marriage "the moiety of his land (De Verdon's) in Erigall, towards the sea except that the grantor retains the castle of Dundalk and five knights' fees nearest the castle. Medietatem terre sue de Hibernia in Erigallo in litus maritimum exceptum quod idem Thomas retinet sibi integre et impartite Castellum de Dundalk et 5 feod milit. "And that whatever the grantor or the grantee can conquer in the land of war in their parts of the land of Erigall, they will equally divide all between them as they have the land of peace."

Hugh de Lacy's only child, Matilda, heiress of these Louth lands, married David de Laundres, Baron of Naas, and their child Matilda married John le Botiler, or John the Butler.

(3) Charter. Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, to his daughter Matilda on her marriage with

David, Baron of Naas, granting his Castle of Carlingford with all the land which he had with her mother in Cole [Cooley] and Ergalla. Ego H. de Lasey concessi Matilde filiae meae Castellum meum de Carlingford cum toto terre quam habui cum matre sue in Cole et Ergalea.

(4) Charter of 1229. David, Baron of Naas, to John the Butler (Pincerna) on his marriage with David's daughter Matilda, confirming a moiety of his land in Carlingford—viz., the Castle and Town of Karlingford being retained by David, the other moiety—to wit, Inislachru and the land towards Niccor to John the Butler and his heirs, born of Matilda, for ever.

A.D. 1269—Writ. Edward, eldest son of the King of England (Henry III) to the Sheriff of Loueth, to command John de Verdon to render to Matilda, daughter of Hugh de Lacey, 2½ carucates of land in Stackmanasran.

Charter, c. 1280. Matilda de Lasy daughter of Hugh de Lasey [and wife of David, Baron of Naas], to her daughter Matilda le Boteler the Castle of Carlingford and all the land she had of the marriage of her mother in Coly [Cooley] and Ergall for ever.

Matilda de Lasey to all her tenants of the town of Karlingford notice that she has granted to her daughter Matilda le Boteler her Castle of Karlingford. Dated Lady Castle, 12 Nov., 1280.

1247. Robert Terel to William de London, 2 carucates of land in Portmaclyuesan in Ergalia.

1260. Donatus, prior of the house of St. Mary of Louethd and the convent of the same bind themselves to Sir David, son of William Baron of Naas, and Matilda de Lacey his wife, under pain of excommunication by the Archbishop of Armagh to render to them at the next assize in Dublin all right in 30 acres of land in Ballytharsn.

1260. Quit claim of Donatus for ever to David, son of William de London, all right and claim in 30 acres land in Ballytharsn, Collgny.

Letter of Attorney. Matilda, Lady of Karlingford, has constituted William, son of Thomas Cle, her attorney, to put William de London son and heir of her daughter Matilda, in seizin of her Manor of Karlingford in Koly in Ergill. Dublin, 11 April, 1304.

Exchange. Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, has given to William, son of William de London, lands in Mrlymastel [in Co. Meath] in exchange for the Manor of Karlingford, except the advowson of the church of the Manor, and for all William's lands of Coly and of Co. Louth. Trim, 25 June, 1305.

Charter 11 April, 1304, at Dublin. Matilda Buteler to William de Lundon, son and heir of her daughter Matilda, the Castle and Town of Karlingford and all her lands in Orgalia and Coly, reserving £30 silver a year to grantor for life.

CAROLAN'S POEMS.

Amhrain Chearballain or The Poems of Carolan, by TOMAS O MAILLE, M.A. Ph.D.

The Irish Texts Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W., 1916. [Printed in Ireland at the Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.]

From the standpoint of literary fame Carolan was fortunate in life, and this good fortune seems to continue even in death. The Irish Texts Society has brought out a splendid edition of his poems edited by Thomas O Maille, professor of Irish in University College, Galway.

Carolan was born in County Meath, within half a mile of Nobber in 1670. In very early life his father migrated to Carrick-on-Shannon. At the age of eighteen he lost his sight through an attack of small-pox. He then turned to music, as the only profession which a blind man could pursue. At twenty-one he began to compose his own airs and tunes, and Irish words to which they could be sung. He was thus at once a poet, a musician, and a composer. It was in the last capacity only he excelled. He was merely a second or even third-rate poet. And owing to the want of early practice at the harp, while his fingers were limber, he was never able to acquire rapidity of execution. But his excellence as a composer established his fame, and gave him in his own day a reputation as a poet and a musician to which he otherwise could not lay claim.

At the age of twenty-two he began his avocation by visiting the houses of the surrounding gentry. At Alderford, Co. Roscommon, lived the ancient and respectable family of MacDermott Roe, and young Carolan attracted the attention of Mrs. MacDermott, a lady of culture, who became his patron. Under her roof he chiefly lived; for her and her family he composed some of his sweetest strains, and in the bosom of this family he breathed his last, and was buried in their family vault at Kilronan. His death occurred in 1738, in his sixty-eighth year.

His life was spent in the parlours of the wealthy; Gael or Gall it mattered not to him provided they were able to give entertainment. It is no wonder then that he became a victim of convivial habits which, it is believed, helped to shorten his existence.

His usual habit was to reward his hosts and hostesses by composing for them a song and air in return for their hospitality.

Eighty-six songs are given in this volume, on the authority of the editor, as genuinely Carolan's. Of these thirty are in praise of women, to all of whom practically he was indebted for entertainment; thirty are in praise of men, one being for himself; five are laments for patrons; five are *plearacas* or descriptions of wild scenes of merriment; the small minority remaining are also on commonplace themes. Indeed the more Carolan's poems are examined and compared with contemporary and even later Irish poets, such as our own MacCuarta and MacCooey, the more he will sink in the ranks of Irish poets. The editor of this volume, while treating his author with great sympathy, wisely refrains from trying to claim for Carolan a place in Irish literature to which he has no title, and gives a very just and impartial estimate of the relative value of his work. Carolan's verses are generally sweet and simple in style, and often happy in expression, but lack the glow which noble themes and exalted ideas alone can bestow. No matter how great a genius a person be he cannot continue for nearly half a century composing songs of praise for commonplace people in return for food and drink without degenerating to the level of a village rhymster. This much may be said in favour of Carolan that the manner of his life compelled him to compose "poetry" for people on whom in other conditions he would not have dreamt of wasting a line. We could have forgiven a good deal of these half-slavish productions if Carolan had written other poems on higher and more worthy themes. But we search in vain for such compositions in this very complete collection of Carolan's works. Carolan was twenty years old when the Battle of the Boyne was fought—a very impressionable age. He must have heard in his life of wandering glowing descriptions from eye-witnesses or perhaps participants, of the Siege of Limerick, the Battle of Aughrim, the Battle of Newtown-butler, and the fight for the bridge of Athlone: yet never a poem or even a verse on any of those stirring events. As his editor says "His education obviously did not awaken his patriotism. His poems contain practically no direct reference to the condition of the Gael in the times in which he lived. . . . He is essentially a drawing-room poet, occupied mainly with human motives."

Only once, in a single isolated instance, is his editor able to point to a remark which shows a slight sympathy for the Gael as against the Gall. His great-grandfather, Shane Grana, was relieved of certain obligations by King James I because of "the many acceptable services performed by the said Shane Grana in the late wars." This shows that in the wars of Hugh O'Neill the Carolans were on the side of Elizabeth. Despite this they afterwards lost their lands in Meath, but Turlough O'Carolan never seems to have possessed any robust national feeling, whether this was an inheritance he got from his family, or whether it was that he adopted this attitude in order not to displease his patrons of non-Gaelic extraction. In this respect Carolan compares poorly with the South Ulster poets, who were strong and outspoken in their defence of the Gael and their denunciation of the Clann Bhullaigh, and who in consequence had to brave poverty and persecution. Merely as an Irish poet Carolan might have suffered the same fate, in spite of his colourless political feelings, for he was after all "a mere Irishman, and not of English race and surname," but his musical abilities and his consequent powers as an entertainer made him welcome even in the homes of the Gall. In his musical compositions also he was less Irish than his predecessors or even contemporaries. "Carolan," says Bunting, "was the first who departed from the purely Irish style of composition. Movements with wildly luxuriant basses were those to which his genius chiefly inclined, and in these indeed it revelled with surprising gracefulness and freedom. But to the 'deep sorrows' of the Irish lyre he rarely aspired. That inimitable vein of tender expression which winds through the very old music of Ireland in every mood, major and minor, is too often sought for in vain in those compositions, the sweetest of which seldom rise above the tender solicitations of love. His pieces have none of those tinklings of the small strings, sporting with freedom under the deep notes of the bass, so characteristic of the style of performance among the old harpers, and which may almost be said to snatch a grace beyond the reach of art."

He was profoundly influenced by the Italian music of his day, and consciously imitated it.

Such was Carolan, the least Irish among his contemporaries either as a poet or musician, yet he was regarded by the English element in Ireland as the living embodiment of everything Irish, and his great fame is largely due to the prominence he attained amongst them. They held most of the wealth and all the power in the country, and Carolan's compositions soon began to reach the printing press, and thus became known to the world, while others of his poetic brethren, more Irish but less fortunate, had to trust for a perpetuation of their works and their fame to the slow-moving quill in the smoky cabins of the down-trodden Gael.

Carolan, however, played a large part in the middle and north of Ireland in his day, and served as a link between the Gael and the Gall, and may have helped to soften the relationship between them in an age when tolerance was little known, and men had not learned to agree to differ. The respect, too, he earned among the wealthy Protestant settlers must have cast its reflection on the whole of the race and creed to which he belonged, and thus have served to dilute that vulgar contempt the ignorant conquerors entertained for the really more cultured victims of their conquest.

Now a few words about the book itself. It is a new departure almost in Irish editing. In

a volume of about 440 pages Carolan's poems occupy less than a hundred. Seventy further pages are occupied with poems by others, some of which have been wrongly attributed to Carolan. The remaining pages, or considerably more than half the volume, is occupied by the work of the editor—an Introduction in Irish and English, Notes, Focloir both Irish-English and English-Irish, Index of Place-names, and most unique of all, over sixty pages of an analysis of the language and metres of the poems. This last is to Irish students an Irish education in itself, and is a very welcome feature in an edition of our modern Irish poems. The language of the poems is that of North Connacht largely flavoured with Ulster dialect. The Ulster element is still further strengthened by the fact that many of the MSS. containing Carolan's poems are Ulster ones. The editor in explaining points of dialect as well as personal and place-names is, sometimes at a loss in not having a wider acquaintance with places and forms in Ulster.

Síol nDalaigh, for instance, is explained at page 313 as "the O Dalys," whereas the poet meant "the O Donnell's." *Clann Dalaigh* is the modern term in County Donegal for the O Donnell clan. *An Dalach* = Mr. O Donnell. *Dalach* was the grandfather of Domhnall. Hence the *Clann Dalaigh* really embraces more than the O Donnell clan; it does also include the O Dalys of south Donegal and north Leitrim and Sligo, as well as other septs in Co. Donegal, but the name *Clann Dalaigh* or its equivalent *Síol nDalaigh* is now almost entirely monopolised by the O Donnell's, and as such must be understood in modern Irish literature. The reference to the O Donnell's is clear in line 1531, page 188.

"*Ardamacha breige* (sic)" on page 182, l. 1,405, is explained at page 310 as "Armagh" with the further remark "What the brega stands for is not clear." It is very clear to anyone who knows Co. Meath. Armagh Brega is the name of a place near Nobber (Carolan's birthplace) and is frequently mentioned in Galligan's MSS., as Galligan lived there a great deal of his time.

Similarly *Clair Uí Neill*, which is given on page 272 as an alternative reading to *Clair Síol Neill*, is left with the explanation that it means "the plain of the race of Neill." But *Clair Uí Neill* is the Irish name of the northern part of Co. Armagh, south of Lough Neagh, and is represented at present by the two baronies of O'Neilland, east and west.

Glinn, l. 31, page 110, is explained as possibly Glin, Co. Limerick. It also possibly refers to Glen, a parish in Co. Down four miles from Newry. See poem 51, page 99, in *Cead de Ceoltaibh Uladh* and the note, page 337.

The priest Felim O'Neill whose identity is unexplained, page 276, is really the Rev. Felim O'Neill mentioned so often by MacCooey. He was a P.P. of Creggan parish. See *Abhrain Airt Mhic Chubhthaigh*, page 153.

"n-Ardland" is explained, p. 288, as Northland, but not identified. There is a place called "Northlands" near Bailieborough, Co. Cavan, but this can hardly be the place referred to, as there is evidently an O'Neill mansion in Northland (v. l. 381, p. 129). The O'Neills of the Fews were still a power in Co. Armagh in Carolan's day, and it is most likely Carolan visited their house or mansion at the time he visited MacCuarta and Rev. Felim O'Neill. If this be so "Northland" is merely an equivalent term for Ulster.

Caitriona Ní Neill (page 171) is probably the same mentioned by MacCooey as buried in Creggan.

Beiti Nic Neill (page 171) of Baile I Sgannlan was clearly a lady of the MacNeill family of Ballymascanlon in Co. Louth.

"Paganstown" (sic), unidentified, page 321, should be Faganstown; it is near Kilbarry, Co. Meath.

These are a few points that strike a south Ulster reader as requiring emendation.

However, the volume is a monument of careful editing and patient labour, and all students of Irish will be grateful to Mr. O'Maille for providing them with such a carefully turned out edition of Carolan.

The book is printed by the Dundalgan Press in their usual superior style. Even in London the Irish Texts' Society could not get better printing done than is turned out by our local press in Dundalk.

FERGUS MAC ROY.

An Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland. The Recension of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, Part I. Edited by R. A. Stewart Macalister, Litt.D., Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Dublin, and John MacNeill, B.A., Professor of Early Irish History in University College, Dublin. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. 5/- net.

An Leabhar Gabhála, or 'The Book of Conquest,' was the name given by our ancestors to a compilation which purported to give a synthetic account of the different invasions of Ireland in pre-historic times. Though to the ordinary reader of the present day the whole story of these

early "invasions" might seem to be merely a collection of fables rather clumsily pieced together and masquerading as history, still, as the researches of the late D'Arbois de Jubainville have shown, this material may in the hands of competent scholars be made to throw a great deal of light upon the history of pre-Christian Ireland and on the customs and beliefs of its inhabitants.

The matter of the *Leabhar Gabhdla* has hitherto been known chiefly from the summarised form of it which Keating incorporated in his *Forus Feasa ar Eirinn*. At the very time (1630) at which Keating in the south of Ireland was utilising one or more texts of the *Leabhar Gabhdla* in the compilation of his popular History, the learned Brother Michael O'Clery was engaged in Ulster in making a new recension of the same tract from various older versions to which he had access. This recension of O'Clery's is being edited for publication by Professors Macalister and MacNeill of University College, Dublin, as a preliminary to a thorough "study of this important historical tract, on which the editors have for some time been engaged." Their text is taken from the fine copy in the R.I.A., MS. 23K32, which is in the handwriting of Peregrine (Cúchoigríche) O'Clery, a kinsman of Michael O'Clery, and like him one of the Four Masters.

In "Part I," which has just been issued, about a third (81 out of 245 pp.) of the O'Clery recension is printed, together with an English translation. The work is expected to be completed in two more parts like the present; and title-page, introduction, indices, and discussion of MS. readings are all reserved for the final part. The present instalment deals with the legendary invasions of Ireland, beginning with that of the lady Ceasair, who is fabled to have reached Ireland forty days before the Flood; and describing in turn the arrival of the 'Parthalonians,' 'Nemedians,' Fir Bolg, Tuatha Dé Danann, and finally the sons of Míleadh or the 'Milesians,' ancestors of the Gaelic race, who are reputed to have come to Ireland "from the sunny land of Spain" in the year 3500 A.M. The remainder of the text will give the history of the kings of Ireland from the Milesian invasion down to the year 1156 A.D.; for the *Leabhar Gabhdla* is much more comprehensive than its title might imply, and the greater portion of it deals not with 'invasions' or 'conquests,' but with the history of the Irish kings. Strangely enough it stops short just before the most momentous invasion of all, the "last conquest" of Ireland begun by Strongbow and his adventurers in 1170 and not completed until the battle of Kinsale in 1602.

A large part of the *Leabhar Gabhdla* is made up of long historical poems (copiously glossed in O'Clery's recension), which are quoted in full as authorities that bear out the prose narrative. Among those printed in the present instalment are several poems by Tanaidhe Ó Maolchonaire, who died in 1136,—which shows that even this part dealing with the legendary invasions cannot have assumed its present shape before the 12th century. O'Clery in his introduction mentions by name a number of the older MSS. upon which he drew when compiling his recension, among them the *Leabhar na Huidhre*, the Book of Nuachongbháil (Navan?) and the Book of Gleann dá Loch (Glendalough), which two last-mentioned books have at different times been identified with the MS. which is now well-known as the Book of Leinster.

To one or two points in the present edition exception might be taken. For instance, it would have been better if the text of the old poems (ninth to eleventh century) with which the text is interspersed had been first collated with the oldest vellum copies obtainable and a critical text constructed therefrom. It is paying O'Clery's text much too high a compliment to assume that his is the best reading in every case. Again, one notices a certain number of editorial mis-translations or misreadings; but in palliation of such shortcomings one need do no more than recall the fact that while the work was passing through the press one of its editors, Professor MacNeill, was sentenced to penal servitude by a British military court, with the result that the work had to appear without his final revision.

A gratifying feature of the book is that it is published under the auspices of University College, Dublin. The old Royal University, mere examining body that it was, rigidly confined its publications to examination papers and its annual calendar; and there was a danger that the newer and greater institution might insensibly model itself in this respect upon its predecessor. The appearance of the present book, however, definitely marks the abandonment of the 'Royal' tradition, and the Dublin College is to be congratulated on the lead it has given. It makes one look forward confidently to the inauguration of a National University Series of learned works—more particularly works, like the present, dealing with national subjects—which would vie with the publications of progressive Universities in England and elsewhere and which more than anything else would make the work of its professors and students known to the outside world. I cannot conclude this notice without expressing the hope that neither the Dublin College nor Professor Macalister will be for long deprived of the services of Eoin MacNeill, whose brilliant research work amid the mazes of early Irish history has placed all lovers of Ireland in his debt and gives earnest of the still greater achievements we may expect from him in the future.

T. F. O'RAHILLY.

ΑΒΡΑΗΝ ΔΙΡΤ ΜΙC CΥΒCΑΙΣ.

Edited by Henry Morris. Published by W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.

"What we have loved,
Others will love and we will teach them how."

In these days of abundant literary output, when European markets are daily flooded with new publications and even the Gaelic press produces no small number of books annually, the labours of the editor are apt to be overlooked and neglected. It is too readily forgotten that his task is no sinecure, and that he fulfils an important function in the world of letters. Acting as a medium between the author and the public, his duty is to interpret the former's work, appreciate its merits and present it in a way calculated to appeal to its readers. To do this, he must not only know something of the writer's life and times, he must also understand his aspirations, enter into his emotions, and feel with him in his joys and sorrows. Briefly, he must treat his subject with knowledge, sympathy and intuition.

In the matter of Gaelic poetry, however, something more than this is required, and the editor is confronted with additional and greater difficulties. In this country we are face to face with an abnormal situation. The Gael having all but lost his native heritage, the Irish language, is becoming increasingly more out of touch with the civilization of his ancestors. Gaelic literature has consequently lost its meaning for him and offers him little æsthetic pleasure. Before appreciating its spirit he must take up the broken thread of tradition and recover his former self. The editor has to play the principal part in this regeneration and recreate "that mentality which a normal Ireland would have." It is he who must lead us back to the right path by offering us the best of our literary past clothed in as modern a dress as is consistent with its original form and as nearly adapted as possible to contemporary taste and thought. He must literally open our eyes to the beauties of the native muse, so that our interests may be directed into channels nearer home and turned aside from those larger seas of intellectual activity in England and the Continent that have hitherto occupied all our attention.

That the attainment of this end is no easy matter, only those acquainted with the sources of Irish literature can adequately realise. The interpretation of both manuscript and oral tradition is beset with difficulties. Irish scribes of the last two centuries were not always scrupulously exact, for the present-day cult of scientific accuracy was to them unknown. They did not hesitate to alter their texts, changing constructions and substituting simpler words for the older and to them often unintelligible forms of their predecessors. To what extent this took place can be gauged from the fact that it is extremely rare to find any two MS. versions of the same poem agreeing in all details. The same process of change went on in oral tradition—a process full of interest, it is true, for the student of language, but of great inconvenience to the modern editor charged with verifying his originals and publishing the most authentic and most correct renderings available.

In his latest publication, *ΑΒΡΑΗΝ ΔΙΡΤ ΜΙC CΥΒCΑΙΣ*, Mr. Henry Morris has on the whole successfully surmounted all these obstacles and given us a faithful edition of his texts. Last year we had occasion to review another volume by the same writer, a collection of Ulster poetry, entitled *CÉAD BÉ CÉOLTAIB ULAÓ*. The present book, if lacking the variety of the former, has the advantage of dealing mainly with an individual poet and being more directly personal. It contains twenty-two poems by Art MacCooey with an interesting sketch of his life and some dozen South-Ulster songs. Mr. Morris had little need to apologise in his Introduction for the meagreness of his information regarding the poet. The biographical notice which follows amply fulfils our expectations and repays the many years of research spent in collecting materials. Though there is no proper chronological history and no tedious list of dates, the right atmosphere has been created, and the many legends and tales that have been woven into a harmonious whole, supply a vivid picture of MacCooey's life in Armagh. Mr. Morris shows us the man behind the poet, the poor labourer that rhymes at his work and composes verses while driving his cart up the slopes of Layther Hill.

Born of poor parents about 1715 in Ballinaghy in the parish of Creggan, Co. Armagh, MacCubhthaigh is essentially the poet of "la petite patrie." So much so that he has earned the patronym of "Poet of the Fewes." As Mr. Morris justly remarks "The national note is hardly ever missing" in his songs, but it is love of his own parish that forms the nucleus of his patriotism. *Cρεαζαν* na h-*Uéire* or *Cρεαζαν* na *ΣCηαοβ* is ever on his lips. It is the centre of worship round which all his thoughts play and from which the greater love of country radiates. He has immortalized the place of his birth in *Uí-Úll Cρεαζαν*, the sweetest of his songs, and one which has always been popular with the people of South Ulster.

Besides Creggan, MacCooey loved to sing of *Σλαφονομαν* and *Coillió Dúin Réime*, the site of the old castle which once belonged to the O'Neills of the Fewes. It was to this family that he was generally supposed to have been attached as hereditary bard. That such was hardly possible, considering the poverty of the Irish nobility in the eighteenth century, is clearly shown

in the Introduction to the *Δὴμιον*, but it is noteworthy that no less than six of MacCooley's poems are addressed to the O'Neills for whom he seems to have had great respect.

Though not as prolific a writer nor as creative a genius as the *Ὁδὸν τῶν Μᾶκ Κωυρτᾶ*, the Poet of the Fewes shows considerable taste and style. The rhythm of his verse is proverbial, and so musical are many of his songs that to this day they are often the only lines retained in the memory of Irish-speaking peasants of the Northern Province. The melody and beauty of a rann like the following require no comment:

Δίσε βῆμας Ὀύιν Ρέιμε ἀν υἱσνεαρ ἰσε,
Ὁ δὲ ἴνυαδὸνμαρ γέσσε βλάτ-ζεαλ,
Ὁυαλαρ γέιμνεαδ ἑυανταί ἑίρεανν,
Δῦρ ρυαίμ ινρ ἀν ρέιμ ι ν-ἀίρσε;
Ὁί να ούιλε τρέιμ 'ρ ἄ γκούλ le céile,
ἱρ γνύιρ να γρέιμε βάιττε,
Δῦρ ρλυαδς να ν-έαν δς ρόγμωδ ρδέιλ,
le γρυαίμ γυρ έας να κάσσε.

Of the other pieces in this collection, one of the simplest and at the same time most pleasing, is that by Feardorcha O'Meallain, whom Mr. Morris takes to be a county Down man banished with his family to Connacht. To me the poem suggests a prayer of solace uttered by some poor religious forced to fly with his community to the West of Ireland to evade the enactments of the penal laws. The poet's address to his "dear brothers," and his gentle remonstrance on the vanity of earthly things seem to confirm this assumption:

Ναδ οὔιζεανν ρίβ, ἄ βῆαίρε ζαοίλ,
Ὁύρρᾶί ἀν τρωςαίλ le ραυα βυαν,
Σέ μὸρ ἀτά ἀνν le ρειλῶ,
Συρ βεας δ βίορ λινν δς οὐλ 'ραν υἱς.

Had the language and tone of the poem been older I would have been inclined to attribute it to the author of the Narrative of the 1641 Wars, the famous Friar O'Mellan, whose convent in Brantry was broken up and dispersed by the Cromwellians.

Of quite a different interest from the song of the Connacht exile is the longer and heavier *Σαζαρτ Μερρε Κορμωίστε* which Mr. Morris has correctly assumed to be a composition of the early nineteenth century. It was written by *πεαυαρ υἱα Κωαίρκα* (Peter Coalrake), a school-master of Meath, who flourished about 1824. I have seen a fuller and better copy in Belfast in a Galligan MS., which contains three other poems by the same author, one of which is a spirited defence of the Gaelic Language in reply to one Phil Thornton, who wrote a satire on Irish teachers. Thornton who came from Castleshane, Co. Antrim, aroused great anger among the Meathians to judge by Coalrake's lines:

νίλ τίρ νό λίτ ἀβῆυιλ τῆατ οῖρ νό λυαίρσεαν
Ναδ μβίονν ρίρ γ μνᾶ σο ἡ-ἀίρ δς κῆυαδ-ζοί
Ρ'ἀ'ν νῆαεὐειλγε να ρέυο ἀτά ο'ν νῆαοί-ζλαρ ἀνυαρ ἀνν
σο βῆυιλ ρί οἱ κάινεαδ δς ἀν τῆαίλ γαν ρυαρκαρ.

The *τῆρνε* with which the volume concludes, strikes a rather melancholy note and is scarcely destined to send the reader away in a merry vein. It is perhaps the editor's intention to arouse more energetic action in the cause of the language, and to stimulate Gaels to reverse what has already been verified of the prophecy:

Ὁείρ ι νῶιρκαδ ἀιμῆιρ τᾶρ ἀρ λᾶν οὐ ὁδοιμῶ
Ὁέαρλα ι ν-υετ ζακ ἀον-τιζε, ραοιρ ι 'ν-υετ ζακ κάλαρ
Ὁείρ ζαίλ 'να νῆαοιθεαλαίβ γ ζαοιρὶλ να νῆαίλ
ι ν-υαδᾶρ 'ρ ν-αίμ-οιζε.

Clann Maeluigra.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1916.

IN presenting to our Members this our Twelfth Annual Report, we are glad to say that during the year just closed our Society, unlike many others, has progressed slowly but surely. Our membership has increased, mainly through the efforts of our respected President, Sir Henry Bellingham, whose interest in the Society is very keen and who gained for us during the year many new members. A circular was issued to some of the principal libraries of Scotland, England and America asking their co-operation in making known the work of the Society by becoming members or purchasing our JOURNAL. The response to this circular has been very fair, and some of the libraries have become members.

The Annual Meeting was held in Drogheda on 19th January, 1916, and the result of the election of Officers and Council for the year was announced as follows : President—Sir Henry Bellingham ; Vice-Presidents (6)—Mrs. C. S. Whitworth, Joseph T. Dolan, W. Tempest, J.P. ; T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P. ; Very Rev. P. J. E. Byrne, S.M. Council (10)—H. G. Tempest, R. Magrath, Very Rev. Canon Lyons, P.P., G. O'Reilly, Wm. Bradley, M.D. ; Rev. M. Kerr, C.C. ; D. O'Connell, J. N. Armstrong, Rev. J. B. Leslie, M.A., and Charles MacAlester. Hon. Secretary—Miss S. Comerford. Hon. Treasurer—J. W. Turner, J.P.

Three lectures were delivered before the Society during the year. One in Drogheda on 19th January, by Rev. Paul Walsh, M.A., of Mullingar, who took as his subject "The Flight of the Earls." One in Dundalk on 30th March, by Very Rev. Dr. Lawlor, of Trinity College, Dublin, on "Illuminated Irish Manuscripts." The third lecture, also in Dundalk, on 30th November, by Mrs. Hutton, Senator Queen's University, Belfast, on the "Táin Bo Cuailgne." All these lectures were largely attended by the members and their friends, and were very much appreciated. The Society is deeply indebted to the kindness of all the Lecturers for preparing these papers and travelling from Dublin to give them before the Society. For the benefit of those members who were not present at these lectures, Dr. Lawlor's has been included in this issue of the JOURNAL. Father Paul Walshe's is embodied in the introduction to his valuable edition of the text and translation of O Cíanan's "Flight of the Earls." Mrs. Hutton's we hope to give in our next issue of our JOURNAL.

A Conference of the members and their friends was held in Drogheda on 23rd August, and the party was conducted around some of the various places of historic interest in that town by Mr. G. O'Reilly, who gave a descriptive sketch of the history and associations of each place. On the conclusion of the tour the members adjourned to the Oliver Plunkett Hall, where Mr. O'Reilly gave a resumé of a paper on the

" Walls of Drogheda " which he had prepared, and which we hope to publish in the next issue of our JOURNAL, and afterwards to issue in pamphlet form.

Twelve monthly and four special meetings of the Council were held during the year, as follows :—Eight monthly and three special meetings in Dundalk, three monthly and one special meeting in Drogheda, and one monthly meeting in Ardee. In the latter town the Council visited some of the historic places and ruins.

Arrangements were made for holding the Annual Excursion on 21st and 22nd June, and " The Glens of Antrim " were again selected for the event, but owing to the lack of response, probably due to war conditions, the outing was dropped.

In common with all other Societies, ours has been affected by the war. One of our most energetic workers, Mr. H. G. Tempest, volunteered for active service, and joined the Royal Engineers. He is now in the Field Survey Dept. " somewhere " in France. The Council miss his services sadly, and hope for his speedy and safe return. Many of our members have lost some of their nearest and dearest friends—sons and brothers having been killed in action or died from wounds. To all of our bereaved members we extend our sincere sympathy.

The Council are gratified to report the success of their efforts in having the historic remains in Drogheda known as " The Old Abbey," " The Butter Gate " and " Clogh Patrick " placed under the control of the Louth County Council. This will save them from further destruction, and will serve to preserve them for generations to come. The success of this work is mainly due to Mr. O'Reilly, Drogheda, who never ceased to press the matter on until it was accomplished.

Sixty-two new members were admitted to the Society during the year, including ten Libraries. The names will be found in the list at the end of the JOURNAL.

Death has claimed three of our members during the year—viz., Rev. S. L. Harrison, Castlebellingham, who died on 19th April. He was a member since the inception of the Society, and a keen archæologist ; Mr. J. N. Armstrong, who died on 18th May. He was a member since he came to Dundalk, and was Secretary to the Society for the year 1915. He took a great interest in its work, and lectured before the members on two occasions. Major A. B. Cairnes, Listoke, Drogheda, who was killed in action on 9th September. He was an ardent supporter of the Society. We sincerely regret the loss of these members, and sympathise with their relatives in their bereavement.

In conclusion, we wish to point out to our members, that they can materially help the work of the Society by prompt payment of subscriptions when they become due and by getting others to join.

County Youth Archeological Society.

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1916.

1915.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1916.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31—	To balance to credit—							Dec. 31—	By balance of Journal						
	Cash on deposit	20	0	0					1914	...	...	...	23	2	1
	Cash in Bank	6	1	8					Cost of Journal, 1915	55	8	3			
	Journals sold	2	13	8					Expenses of Lecture	1	19	10			
1916.					28	15	4		Advertising	...	...	...	5	10	6
Dec. 31—	Subscriptions during year	66	1	0					Journals purchased	...	...	...	0	10	0
"	—Sale of Journals	12	0	11					Sundry Printing and						
					78	1	11		Stationery	...	...	...	5	19	0
									Cheque Book	...	...	...	0	2	1
									Stamps and sundry pay-						
									ments	...	...	...	5	18	8
													98	10	5
									Balance to credit at close of year						
									On deposit	...	...	...	5	0	0
									Cash in Bank	...	...	...	3	1	10
									In Treasurer's hands	0	5	0			
													8	6	10
													£106	17	3

Examined and found correct.

J. W. TURNER, *Hon. Treasurer.*

R. P. O'NEILL, *Hon. Auditor.*

Wm. Lenth Archaeological Society.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF DUN DEALGAN FUND to 31st Dec., 1916.

[illegible]

Examined and found correct.

S. COMERFORD, Hon. Treasurer.

R. P. O'NEILL, *Hon. Auditor.*

The advances made by the Guarantors for the purchase of Dun Dealgan remain due to them.

LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED A.D. 1903.)

OBJECTS.

I. To preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments and memorials of County Louth, and adjoining districts.

II. To study the arts, manners and customs of the past to which these monuments belong.

III. To find out all that is ascertainable about the history of Louth and surrounding districts.

IV. To establish a museum or museums in the County where objects of antiquarian interest may be preserved.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called "The Louth Archæological Society," and shall be non-political and non-sectarian.

2. The Society shall consist of Honorary Members, Members and Associates.

3. The Annual Subscription of Honorary Members shall be 10/-; of Members, 5/-

4. All Subscriptions fall due and are payable in the January of each year.

5. Every Honorary Member and Member has the right of free admission to all Meetings and Lectures of the Society, and also of receiving a copy of all publications of the Society.

6. The Society shall be governed by a President, six Vice-Presidents, Hon. Treas., Hon. Sec., and a Council of ten, of which four shall form a quorum.

7. The Officers are ex-officio Members of the Council.

8. Only Hon. Members or Members shall be eligible for election to the Council.

9. The Officers and Council shall be elected by the Hon. Members and Members at the Annual General Meeting in each year, the date of such Meeting to be appointed by the Council.

ga. If thought desirable by the Council the positions of Editor of Journal and Hon. Secretary may be separate offices, each entitling to a seat on the Council, and an Advisory Board of three be appointed by Council to assist the Editor.

MEETINGS.

10. The Society shall meet four times in each year, on such days as the Council shall consider most convenient, when lectures may be delivered or papers read and discussed on historical or archæological subjects, and objects of antiquarian interest may be examined.

11. Besides these General Meetings the Council may arrange for Evening Meetings, for reading and discussing papers, and also for excursions to places of historical or antiquarian interest.

12. The General Meetings of the Society shall not be held in the same town, but shall circulate among three or four of the most important centres in the County. At each General Meeting the place of the next such Meeting shall be decided on.

PAPERS.

13. No paper shall be read before the Society without being first submitted to and approved of by the Council.

14. All matters concerning existing religious or political differences shall be excluded from the papers to be read and the discussions to be held at the Meetings of the Society.

15. The Council shall determine the order in which the papers shall be read, and also those papers, or the parts thereof, which shall be published.

16. All papers read before the Society shall thenceforth be the property of the Society.

PUBLICATIONS.

17. The Council shall issue—provided the funds permit—at least one journal or publication during the year, containing such papers or parts of digests of papers, and other matter relating to the Society or its proceedings, as the Council shall consider fit.

GENERAL.

18. Amendments, or addition to the objects, constitution, and rules of the Society, can only be made at the Annual General Meeting.

19. Only Hon. Members or Members can propose such amendments or additions; and notice of any such motions must be lodged with the Hon. Sec. at least one month before the date of the Annual General Meeting.

County Louth Archaeological Society.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1917:

<i>President :</i>	Sir HENRY BELLINGHAM, Bart., H.M.L., Castle Bellingham.
	Mrs. C. S. WHITWORTH, An Grianan, Blackrock, Dundalk.
	JOSEPH T. DOLAN, M.A., Ardee.
<i>Vice- Presidents :</i>	✓ Rev. P. J. E. BYRNE, S.M., St. Mary's College, Dundalk.
	✓ J. R. CHRISTIN, B.D., D.L., M.R.I.A., Braganstown, Castlebellingham
	✓ Wm. TEMPEST, J.P., Dundalk.
	✓ T. M. HEALEY, K.C., M.P., Chapelizod.
<i>Hon. Treasurer :</i>	JOHN W. TURNER, M.A., J.P., Demesne House, Dundalk.
<i>Hon. Secretary :</i>	Miss SALLIE COMERFORD, Town Hall, Dundalk.
<i>Council :</i>	✓ Rev. M. KERR, C.C., Dundalk.
	✓ GEORGE O'REILLY, 26, Trinity Street, Drogheda.
	✓ D. O'CONNELL, Earl Street, Dundalk.
	✓ R. MAGRATH, Clanbrassil Street, Dundalk.
	✓ Rev. JAMES B. LESLIE, M.A., Kilsaran, Castlebellingham.
	✓ Rev. Canon LYONS, P.P., S.T.L., Ardee.
	✓ H. G. TEMPEST, Dundalk.
	✓ Dr. WM. BRADLEY, J.P., St. Lawrence Street, Drogheda.
	✓ CHARLES M'ALESTER, Castle Road, Dundalk.
	✓ Rev. JAMES QUINN, C.C., Bessbrook.

MEMBERS:

N.B.—In accordance with a resolution of the Council, the names of those whose subscriptions are three years in arrear have been removed from the list of members. The Journal is not sent until members' subscriptions for the current year have been paid. An asterisk () denotes an honorary member subscribing 10/- a year.*

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- ACHESON, FRED. W., Kilgar, Dundalk.
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- BAILIE, Miss, Shortstone, Dundalk.
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- BELLEW, Lady, Barmeath, Dunleer.
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- MOORE, Dr., J.P., Ardee.
- MOORE, PETER, 1 Harle Street, Neath, South Wales.

* Honorary Member.

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 - PARR, Dr., Laurence Street, Drogheda.
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